

# The Library

Fourth Series  
Vol. IX. No. 2.

September 1928

## PERCY'S RELIQUES

By L. F. POWELL<sup>1</sup>



HEN I received Dr. McKerrow's invitation, which I regarded as a command, to read a paper to this Society, I at once bethought me of the book which we owe to the diligence, taste, and enterprise of Thomas Percy, the young rector of Easton Maudit. So far as I am aware no full account of the *Reliques* as a printed book, or of the circumstances attending its publication, has been given. I propose then, with your permission, to attempt this, confining myself to the three editions published by Dodsley in 1765, 1767, and 1775, but giving some facts relating to the composition of the first edition and of its progress through the press. I do the latter not merely because 'it is pleasant to see great works in their seminal state pregnant with latent possibilities of excellence',<sup>2</sup> but because these facts have an important bearing on the book as we know it. If I have been unable completely to divest myself of my customary garb and have sometimes confounded the functions of a literary historian with those of a bibliographer, I must crave indulgence.

We do not know the precise date when Percy rescued the

<sup>1</sup> A paper read before the Bibliographical Society, 20 February 1928, with some slight changes. I have to thank Mr. F. Page for his kind assistance in verifying numerous quotations from British Museum manuscripts.

<sup>2</sup> Johnson's *Lives of the English Poets*, Milton, ¶ 91.

manuscript, which by a prolepsis we may call the Percy Folio, from the servants of Mr. Pitt of Shifnal. He himself tells us, in a fit of remorse for his ill-treatment of it, that he was 'very young'.<sup>1</sup> Miss Gausen, Percy's chief biographer, says that 'it was evidently before his college days',<sup>2</sup> but she gives no evidence in support of her statement. Most of the marginalia are in the nature of glosses, and some of them were clearly made after Percy had decided to use the manuscript as a basis for his collection of ancient ballads. Against 'Sir Aldingar' (fol. 33 verso) he wrote: 'N.B. Without some corrections this will not do for my Reliques'; and of the 'Heir of Linne' (fol. 35) he wrote: 'This old copy (tho' a very in- different Fragment) I thought deserving of some attention, 'I have therefore bestowed an intire revisal of the subject for 'my Reliques.' He had, however, read it through by 20 December 1757, for that is the date on which he compiled the List of Contents.

The earliest reference found by me in Percy's voluminous correspondence to the manuscript and to the use which was subsequently made of it, occurs in a letter to Shenstone, dated 24 November 1757.<sup>3</sup> 'I am possess'd of a very curious old MS. 'Collection of ancient Ballads, many of w<sup>ch</sup> I believe were never 'printed. . . . Mr. Johnson has seen my MS. & has a desire to have 'it printed.' It was Johnson then, and not Shenstone, as is

<sup>1</sup> Percy wrote inside the cover: 'N.B. When I first got possession of this MS. I was very young, and being in no Degree an Antiquary, I had not then learnt to reverence it; which must be my excuse for the scribble which I then spread over some parts of its Margins, <i>and</i> in one or two instances for even <i>tear</i>ing out the Leaves to save the trouble <of> transcribing. I have since been more careful.' And on folio 44 verso: 'When I first set to examine this, I had not yet learned to hold this old MS. in much regard.'

<sup>2</sup> A. C. C. Gausen, *Percy: Prelate and Poet*, 1908, p. 9.

<sup>3</sup> The correspondence between Percy and Shenstone has been edited by Dr. Hans Hecht in *Quellen und Forschungen zur Sprach- und Culturgeschichte*, Bd. 103, 1909. The original letters are in the British Museum, Add. MS. 28221.

generally stated, who first suggested the publication of the *Reliques*. But if Johnson was the first, Shenstone was a good second. Writing to Percy on 4 January 1758, he says : ' You ' pique my Curiosity extremely by the mention of that antient ' Manuscript, as there is nothing gives me greater Pleasure than ' the simplicity of style & sentiment that is observable in old ' English ballads. If aught could add to that Pleasure, it would ' be an opportunity of perusing them in your company at the ' Leasowes, & pray do not think of publishing them untill you ' have given me that opportunity.... Suppose then you consider ' your MS. as an hoard of gold, somewhat defac'd by Time, ' from which however you may be able to draw supplies upon ' occasion, and with which you may enrich y<sup>e</sup> world hereafter ' under more current Impressions.' Percy's reply (9 January 1758) shows that he had decided to publish. I give it in full as it provides additional evidence of Johnson's active interest. ' If I regarded only my own private satisfaction, I should by ' no means be eager to render my Collection cheap by publica- ' tion. It was the importunity of my friend Mr. Johnson, that ' extorted a promise of this kind from me. Indeed he made me ' very tempting offers, for he promised to assist me in selecting ' the most valuable pieces & in revising the Text of those he ' selected. Nay further, if I would leave a blank Page between ' every two that I transcribed, he would furnish it out with ' the proper Notes.'<sup>1</sup> Percy goes on to state that he was unable to resist these inviting inducements, but adds, ' after all I ' shall be in no hurry to enter upon my task : it was agreed ' that I was to receive a Summons first from Mr. Johnson and ' he has his hands full at present '.

By the summer of 1758 he had started on the fatal course

<sup>1</sup> At a later date Percy subjoined the following note to this letter : ' These Promises he never executed, nor except a few slight hints, delivered *vivâ voce*, did he furnish any Contributions, etc.', forgetting, I am afraid, the Dedication to the Countess of Northumberland.

of giving to the world his 'current impressions', for in a mutilated letter written after Grainger had published his *Tibullus* and before his departure for the West Indies, Percy tells Shenstone that he 'can think of no rhyme for Sun, in the 14th stanza of the Additions to Gill Morice', adding 'but what if you find one for perfume. Query? "threeds of 'Gold drawn from Minerva's loom" or something infinitely better'. This line, with the Scotticization of 'from' to 'frae', is one of the sixteen additional lines impertinently intercalated into the Scottish ballad, which Percy describes (*Reliques*, iii. 93) as having been produced and handed about in manuscript, forgetting to tell us that production was his own.

His interest was maintained throughout the following year, although somewhat dissipated by translations from Ovid, Portuguese versions of Chinese novels, and French renderings of Runic poems. By October 1760 Shenstone, who meanwhile had been busy polishing, adjusting, altering, amending, supplementing, had assumed or been appointed to the office of supervisor. 'I would have you', he directs Percy, 'transcribe 'what you think proper in a Large Paper-book & let me 'reconsider them all together, before they are sent away 'to Press.' Shenstone's letters from this time onwards till his death are full of advice on such matters as selection of suitable ballads, method of arrangement, introduction of 'cuts', &c. 'I could indeed wish you not to place your Thoughts on extending the size of your Publication. However, I shall not object to 3 such vols. as Mallet's, if you can by any means 'fill them properly, even with y<sup>e</sup> addition of Scotch Ballads.' Percy was clearly right when he said, in the Preface to the *Reliques*, 'The plan of the work was settled in concert with the late elegant Mr. Shenstone.'

By the end of November 1760 Percy had found a publisher willing to consider his book. But all was not well, for he had the misfortune to disagree with him, a calamity which befell

him on other occasions. Writing to Shenstone, Robert Dodsley's firm friend be it remembered, on the 27th he says : ' You will perhaps be surprised when I tell you, that Mr. Dodsley & I have broke off all treaty on the subject of the Old Ballads. James Dodsley is generous enough & offered me terms that would have repaid my Labour, but his brother (who, if you remember, had never much opinion of the work) has, I suppose, persuaded him to desist, for the other has receded from his own offers and we are now quite off, as the trading term is.' He then approached Andrew Millar, the Maecenas of the age, but no agreement was reached as he wanted to lay Percy under some difficulties about the execution. Finally, however, the House of Dodsley did have the honour of publishing the *Reliques*. On 22 May 1761 Percy, after describing in detail the plan of his book as decided upon at ' a council of war with Mr. Johnson ', tells Shenstone that the work is at length to come out of ' Mr. Dodsley's shop '. ' My terms ', he says, ' if 3 vols, are to be 100 Guineas, if 2 only, 70 l.' On the same day he records in his diary (Add. MS. 32336), ' Sold Dodsley my old Ballads ', and on the next that Dodsley took him to ' Hughes the Printer '. This was undoubtedly John Hughes or Hughs, from whose press, according to Nichols,<sup>1</sup> almost the whole of the valuable and numerous publications of the Dodsleys were produced.

Percy proceeded to enlist the aid of others, such as Tom Warton, who promised ' to ransack all their hoards at Oxon ', and Dicey of the Printing-Office in Bow Church Yard, ' the greatest Printer of Ballads in the Kingdom ', who engaged to ' rommage ' in his warehouse for everything curious that it contained ; he settled one correspondence in the very heart of Wales, and another in the ' wilds ' of Staffordshire and Derbyshire ; Grainger, who at this time was in the West Indies, was to be approached : Percy aimed at ' ransacking '

<sup>1</sup> *Literary Anecdotes*, v. 35 n.

the whole British Empire. In August, from the 19th to the 29th, we find him at Cambridge transcribing 'old ballads', in the Pepysian library at Magdalene. In October he visited Shenstone, taking the precious folio with him—he had before this taken the precaution of putting it into boards in order to lend it to Johnson—and on the 28th he noted, 'Shewed Mr. Shenstone my old Ballads, etc. after Dinner'. The next day he 'Revised Old Ballads'. By 'revised' I suppose he means 'prepared for the printer' by restoring the text, amending corruptions, and removing redundancies.

The first copy was sent to the printer early in 1762; when Percy's, and John Hughes's, troubles began, for in spite of the reiterated advice from 'Mr. Shenstone's Brain' and the council of war with Johnson, Percy's plan of campaign was not complete. 'How am I to dispose of the Scotch Pieces?' he asks Shenstone, 22 February 1762 (Shenstone had put the same question to him in the previous May). 'If I am to dis-  
tribute them promiscuously thro' all the Volumes—which  
'(just at this critical 8 o'clock on Monday night) I am most  
'inclined to—it will be proper I shd insert one in that part  
'of the first Volume which is now under the Press.' Discuss  
'this point for me therefore as soon as possible, otherwise your  
'very delay will be decisive.' (I note that Percy first wrote  
'Decide': this is characteristic; Percy all his life tried to get  
some one to decide for him.) By June revises of sheets B and C  
had been printed: on the 17th of the month he sends these  
to Shenstone, telling him that 'the printer . . . is very sparing  
of both his proofs and revises, and I have rec'd a sheet of neither  
for these three weeks past'. On occasion, however, the printer  
worked too quickly; for in the second volume, p. 357, there  
is a complaint that p. 343 of the same volume had been

<sup>1</sup> *The Gaberlunzie Man*, No. ix of the First Book in vol. iii, which was at the time Percy wrote vol. i, is the first piece to be called a Scottish song. This occurs in sheet E.

printed off before a misstatement could be corrected. To return to volume the first. Shenstone kept his revises two months, his excuse being that he did not know what revises were! He writes, 10 August 1762: 'I have been under a 'strange mistake with regard to what you call Revises, which 'I understood to mean Sheets that were finally printed off. 'I therefore kept them y<sup>t</sup> I might see y<sup>e</sup> appearance of y<sup>t</sup> 'ballads as they succeeded one another, whereas I now find 'that I have been expected to send these Revises directly 'to you.' However, they were printed off by August. Sometime in October or November Shenstone writes, 'You must 'dun me once more for "The Boy & and the Mantle", & 'then it shall be ready'. This is clearly the version 'as revised and altered by a modern hand', which we now know to be Shenstone's: it is the last piece in the volume. In his introductory note to this Percy says, 'since the former sheets of 'this volume were printed off, Mr. Warton has published 'a new edition of his ingenious observations on Spenser'. The second edition of Tom Warton's *Observations on the Fairy Queen of Spenser* was published on 19 August of this year. In November Percy says: 'When the first volume is printed off 'I will send you the whole compleat & intire. The press has 'been taken up with some other business of Mr. Dodsley's, 'otherwise it must have been printed off long ago.' In the same letter, however, he betrays himself by admitting that the glossary to this volume is not ready, owing to the reluctance of one helper and the incompetence of another. From a letter to Sir David Dalrymple (Add. MS. 32331, fol. 14), dated 7 January 1763, we learn that the volume is 'almost printed off'. The glossary was still causing trouble. Shenstone died on 11 February 1763 and his last moments were not consoled by the sight of the first volume 'compleat and intire'. Percy stated at a later date (Add. MS. 28221, fol. 3), 'when Mr. Shenstone died the Reliques had only been printed to the beginning of Book III<sup>d</sup>

of what is now the 111<sup>d</sup> volume, but was then the 1<sup>st</sup>'. The third book begins with *The Birth of St. George*, signature P 3.

Progress on the succeeding volumes was somewhat quicker. It is shown by the following extracts from Percy's diary and his letters to Dalrymple, who had to some extent taken the place of Shenstone. On 17 January 1763 he records, 'Prepared copy of the Old Ballads, Vol. 2<sup>d</sup>', and on the next day there is the same entry, with the important difference 'Vol. 3<sup>d</sup>'. From the same letter, dated 30 August, in which he expressed his intention of dedicating the book to Shenstone's memory, we learn that *Hardyknute* was printed off: this occurs in sheet G. And on 11 October he writes: 'I am now drawing up my Glossary for the second volume, which is almost printed off' (Add. MS. 32331, fol. 38). But the sheet, N, containing 'Balow, my babe' (*Lady Bothwell's Lament*) was not printed off on that date (ibid., fols. 38-9). The first two volumes were sent to Dalrymple in February of the following year, with the intimation that Dodsley desired secrecy (ibid., fol. 49 verso). On 12 December 1763 he was 'Revising Ballads', presumably those of the then third volume, and on the 16th he 'Began the ballad of Sir Cawline'. *Sir Cawline* is now No. 4 of the first book of the first series, and occurs in sheet D of volume 1 of the first edition; when Percy wrote it was in volume 3. Percy tells us that 'this old Romantic tale was preserved in the Editor's folio MS. but in so defective and mutilated a condition that it was necessary to supply several stanzas in the first part, and still more in the second, to connect and compleat the story'. The diary continues, '14 May, 1764. Completed the ballad & Preface of y<sup>e</sup> rising of y<sup>e</sup> North'. This occurs in sheet R of the original volume 3. Percy printed it from two manuscript copies,<sup>1</sup> selecting such

<sup>1</sup> Percy did not of course take down this ballad 'from the lips of the people', as Mr. Gerald Brenan reported in his *History of the House of Percy*, 1902, ii. 297. His way was not that of David Herd, Peter Buchan, and Sir Walter Scott.

readings 'as seemed most poetical and consonant to history'. On 2 June Percy wrote to Dalrymple telling him that he had been in London for the past fortnight 'overlooking the last labours of the press: I mean all but the Preface, Glossary of vol. 3 and Appendix of omitted Notes' (Add. MS. 32331, fol. 59). In the summer, from 25 June to 18 August, Johnson and Miss Williams visited Percy at Easton Maudit. Their visit did not interrupt Percy's work; as the following memoranda show: '29 June. Preparing Glossary to Vol. 1. Old Ballads.' '17 July. Finished Glossary on 1 Vol. of Old Ballads.' '18 July. Sent Glossary to Vol. 1st.' These entries, in conjunction with the letter to Dalrymple just quoted, show that the turning of volume 3 into volume 1 took place between 2 and 29 June, the glossary mentioned in both documents being the same, i.e. that now printed at the end of the first volume. This explains why the leaf Y 5, of the first volume, containing the title of the glossary, and the leaf Z 4, in which the 'End of Volume the First' is announced, are not cancels. Proceeding with our chronological survey we find, on 13 August, the highly interesting record 'Preparing dedication of old ballads'. It has never been suspected that the Dedication to the Countess of Northumberland,<sup>1</sup> which we now know was at least 'prepared' by Percy, was written when Johnson was staying at Easton Maudit. We can easily picture what happened. Percy, who regarded 'Dedication as a pauly kind of writing', finding himself unequal to the importance of the occasion, turned to his guest, whom, as Boswell says, 'no man excelled in that courtly species of composition'. This specimen of it will of course always be included in Johnson's works. The next entry occurs on the 16th: 'At home all day Preparing Preface of Old Ballads.' He did not, however, entirely neglect his guest,

<sup>1</sup> As late as 30 August 1763 Percy intended to dedicate the *Reliques* to the memory of Shenstone (Letter to Dalrymple, Add. MS. 32331, fol. 33 verso).

for he adds : ' Read some of Pope with Mr. Johnson.' A few days later, on the 21st, he told Dalrymple that the work was on the very threshold of publication. ' I only wait ', he writes, ' for such additional Remarks as I shall throw to the end of the last vol. by way of Appendix ' (Add. MS. 32331, fol. 61 verso). The glossary continued to cause trouble. Percy, whose lexicographical equipment was confessedly inadequate, had, not unnaturally, appealed to his guest, the greatest living authority, for help. This is revealed by his letter to Sir David ; he writes : ' In the Glossary I have denoted by red Lines such ' words & phrases as I am either ignorant or doubtful of : ' and have written in the margin most of the passages where- ' in they occur. Shall I intreat your Assistance & that of ' your friends, for the removing these obscurities ? Mr. John- ' son . . . who has been with me for 2 months past on a ' Visit & left me but last week, gives them up as inexplic- ' able : and as he has a good deal of *Glossarizing* knowledge, ' it will be some honour to succeed, after he has given them ' over.'

There are no further references to the Ballads in the diary until November. On the 1st, All Saints' Day,<sup>1</sup> Percy ' corrected Proof of y<sup>e</sup> Essay on Metrical Romances ', on the 2nd ' Revised Preface of Ballads ', and on the 3rd ' corrected Proof of List of Metrical Romances '. The Essay and the List appended to it fill sheets b and c of the last volume, so that Percy was rapidly approaching the end of his labours. It came, I believe, three weeks later, when on 22 November he briefly recorded ' waited on Lady North<sup>d</sup> & presented my book '. It is reasonable to suppose that the book presented was the *Reliques* and not that other ' Bailad of Ballads ', published in June this year. I suspect that even in those leisurely days the printer and the binder could, if occasion demanded, produce

<sup>1</sup> On the same day Percy ' returned proof of N. Test.' *The Key to the New Testament* was not published until January 1769.

some advance copies in three weeks.<sup>1</sup> Percy would certainly lose no time in offering his book to the noble dedicatee. The work was, however, not issued to the public until February 1765, when on Thursday, the 14th, after a preliminary warning, well placed in the middle of the page, on 29 January 'In a few Days will be published', the following announcement appeared in the *London Chronicle* (in which Dodsley had a property) :

*This Day was published*

In Three Volumes, Price bound 10s. 6d. (accompanied with Four Dissertations, viz. 1. Concerning the ancient English Minstrels. 2. On the origin of the English Stage. 3. On the Metre of Pierce Plowman's Visions. 4. On the origin of Romances, &c.) RELIQUES OF ANCIENT ENGLISH POETRY. Consisting of old heroic Ballads, Songs, and other Pieces of our earlier Poets (chiefly of the Lyric Kind) together with some few of later Date.

Printed for J. Dodsley, in Pall Mall.

The book is now out and we can proceed to an examination of it. It may save time if I mention here that the three Dodsley editions (1765, 1767, 1775) are the same in respect of format, type, paper, 'cuts', and general make-up. Each edition is in three volumes octavo in eights, and each presents the same typographical and bibliographical features. The paper is unwatermarked and the chain-lines, normally, vertical. Head-lines, such as 'Preface', 'Contents', 'Glossary', &c., appear above their respective sections, and the running title, in the first and second editions, is 'Ancient Songs and Ballads' equally divided over each opening of the text—in the third edition the running title is simply 'Ancient Poems' repeated on each page. Volume signatures are used throughout and occur in their normal place on the first leaf of each gathering; every leaf of the first half of each gathering is signed with an ordinary signature (B B<sub>2</sub> B<sub>3</sub> B<sub>4</sub>). Forme figures occur normally, with occasional omissions, on an unsigned page, some-

<sup>1</sup> I notice distinct offset on the versos of the title-pages of vols. 2 and 3, and on signature A<sub>3</sub> verso of vol. 1 containing the second page of the Dedication.

times twice in a gathering, but more often once. Catchwords<sup>1</sup> are used generally, but are frequently omitted in the first edition. The copperplate engravings are identical in all editions, the page-references on the end-pieces being adjusted to the new editions. 'Each volume or series', Percy explains in his Preface, 'is divided into three Books, to afford so many 'pauses, or resting-places to the Reader, and to assist him in 'distinguishing between the productions of the earlier, the 'middle, and the latter times.' Percy revised the arrangement of the ballads, chiefly in the second edition, but the division into three Series, equivalent to Volumes, each consisting of three Books, remained in all lifetime editions. On the initial page of each Book there is a cut illustrative of the whole Book or more often of one of the ballads in it. But if the editions are identical in respect of the forementioned features, they are not in others. Errors of fact and typography are corrected in the second and third editions and new ones made: old material is rearranged and new added. Although there are instances of identity of pagination between two and even all three editions, there is no doubt whatever that the two later editions were reset. Take vol. iii, pp. 1-9, containing *The Boy and the Mantle*: from a casual examination it would appear that these pages are exactly the same in the first and second editions (in the third edition the running title is different), but a closer inspection shows that the running title is set nearer the inner margin in the second edition than in the first. I do not think it possible that a leaf of one edition could be substituted for that of another without detection, except perhaps in one or two places.

A collation of the first three editions follows.

<sup>1</sup> This term is not entirely satisfactory. Often the 'catchword' is only part of a word, and sometimes not a word at all (e.g. vol. ii, ed. 2, p. 203, where it is †††). It seems to me that 'catch-line', which I believe has been used, would be truer and more descriptive.

*The First Edition (1765)*

## Signatures :

Vol. 1. A, b (six leaves), B-Y, Z (half-sheet).

Vol. 2. A (half-sheet), B-Z, Aa.

Vol. 3. A (half-sheet), b, c (half-sheet), B-P (P 2 wrongly signed Q 2), '2d P', Q-X, Y (five leaves), Z.

## Pagination :

Vol. 1. Pp. xxviii+344 : consisting of Frontispiece [i-ii], Title [iii-iv (blank)], Dedication [v]-viii, Preface ix-xiv, An Essay on the ancient English minstrels xv-xxiv (blank), Contents [xxv-xxviii], Text of ballads [1]-329, Glossary [330]-344.

Vol. 2. Pp. [iv]+iv+384 (minus 113-28 : see Advertisement, *post*, p. 129) : consisting of Half-title [i-ii (blank)], Title [iii-iv (blank)], Contents i-iv, Text of ballads [1]-112, 129-371 (145, 153, 299 misprinted 451, 351, 296), Glossary [372]-384.

P. 384 is followed by a single leaf, containing on the recto the musical notes to the song 'for the victory at Agincourt'.

Vol. 3. Pp. [iv]+iv+xxiv+346+16 additional pages inserted between 224-5 numbered '[225-240]' (152, 173, 206, 341 misprinted 119, 137, 260, 241) : consisting of Half-title [i-ii (blank)], Title [iii-iv (blank)], Contents i-iv, Essay on the ancient metrical romances i-xvi, List of metrical romances xvii-xxiv, Text of ballads 1-224, '[225-240]', 225-323, Glossary 324-31, Additions and Corrections, in two series, 332-46.

For the two leaves, unsigned and unnumbered, containing 'Errata', 'Advertisement', and Direction 'To the Binder' see *post*, p. 127.

*The Second Edition (1767)*

## Signatures :

Vol. 1. A, a-d, B-Aa, Bb (two leaves).

Vol. 2. [A] (half-sheet), B-Z, Aa-Cc.

Vol. 3. [A] (half-sheet), b-c, B-Z, Aa (half-sheet).

In the first volume A 4 occurs also as the signature of A 5 : the printer no doubt blindly copied from the first edition.

## Pagination :

Vol. 1. Pp. lxxx+370 [372] : consisting of Half-title [i-ii (blank)], Frontispiece [iii (blank)-iv], Title [v-vi (blank)], Dedication [vii]-x, Preface xi-xvi, Advertisement to the Second Edition, &c. xvii-xviii, An Essay on the ancient English minstrels [xix]-xx-lxxvi, Contents [lxxvii-lxxx], Text of ballads [1]-347, Glossary [348]-65, Additions to the Essay on the origin of the English stage [366]-70, Errata [371-2].

Vol. 2. Pp. iv+iv+400 (19 and 400 misprinted 25 and 340) : consisting of Half-title [i-ii (blank)], Title [iii-iv (blank)], Contents i-[iv], Text of ballads [1]-382, Glossary, Post-script, and Additional notes [383]-400.

P. 400 is followed by the musical notes as in the first edition.

Vol. 3. Pp. iv+xxxii+358 [360] : consisting of Half-title [i-ii (blank)], Title [iii-iv (blank)], Contents i-[iv], An Essay on the ancient metrical romances [i]-xxxii, Text of ballads [1]-358.

Signature Aa 4 contains, recto, a list of four books by the Editor of the *Reliques* printed and sold by Dodsley, and, verso, a notice of the French translation of *Hau Kiou Choaan* and the Extract of a letter from James Garland confirming the authenticity of the Chinese story.

The second edition follows the first in the two sets of numbers for the titles and half-titles, and preliminaries of vols. 2 and 3.

### *The Third Edition (1775)*

#### Signatures :

Vol. 1. A, b-e, f (one leaf), B-Z, Aa-Bb (half-sheet).

Vol. 2. [A] (half-sheet), B-Z, Aa-Dd (two leaves).

Vol. 3. A, a-c (half-sheet), d (two leaves), B-Z, Aa (half-sheet).

#### Pagination :

Vol. 1. Pp. xcii+376 [378] : consisting of Half-title [i-ii (blank)], Frontispiece [iii (blank)-iv], Title [v-vi (blank)], Dedication [vii]-x, Preface xi-xvi, Advertisement to the Third Edition, xvii-xviii, An Essay on the ancient English Minstrels, and Notes on it [xix]-lxviii, Contents [lxix-xcii], Text of ballads [1]-349, Glossary 350-68, Additions to the Essay on the origin of the English stage [370]-6, Advertisement of Percy's works published by Dodsley, and Errata [377-8].

The pages after 368 are misnumbered, 372 should be 370.

Vol. 2. Pp. iv+iv+404 : consisting of Half-title [i-ii (blank)], Title [iii-iv (blank)], Contents i-[iv], Text of ballads [1]-384, Glossary 385-99, Additions to the Essay on Pierce Plowman's visions, &c. 400-4.

P. 404 is followed by the leaf containing the musical notes intended 'to come in at the End of Vol. 2' as in the previous editions.

Vol. 3. Pp. iv+xl+360 : consisting of Half-title [i-ii (blank)], Title [iii-iv (blank)], Contents i-[iv], Essay on the ancient metrical romances, [v]-xxxix [xl blank], Text of ballads 1-349, Glossary, &c. 350-9, Additional notes [360].

There are some features, especially of the first edition, which demand fuller treatment and explanation. First of all attention must be drawn to the direction 'To the Binder'. This occurs

on the verso of the second leaf of the two-leaved gathering, containing also the Errata to all three volumes and the Advertisement. It is found sometimes at the end of volume 1 and sometimes at the end of volume 3, according to the whim of the binder, and is an odd scrap, with horizontal chain-lines, forming no part of any other sheet. The wording is as follows : 'The Binder is desired to take Notice that the marginal 'Numbers' of the 1st and 3d Volumes are wrong : that the 'Sheets marked Vol. I. are to be bound up as VOLUME THE 'THIRD: and that those noted Vol. III. as VOLUME THE 'FIRST.' As I have already shown, Percy made this interchange of volumes in June 1764, probably after he had decided to dedicate the book to the living countess and not to the memory of the 'late elegant Mr. Shenstone'. It was certainly fitting that the ballads of *Chevy-Chase* and the *Battle of Otterbourne* should be placed in close proximity to the Dedication ; the Countess of Northumberland, too, would doubtless derive more gratification from the recital of the heroic deeds of her illustrious ancestors than from the tale of disasters which befell those fair and frail ladies of King Arthur's court, who failed to win or wear that tell-tale mantle, the revelations of which were by Percy's change of plan deferred to the last volume. However that may be, this confusing interchange of volume iii and volume i must always be remembered when dealing with the First Edition.

There is no Half-title to volume 1, the Frontispiece<sup>2</sup> form-

<sup>1</sup> By 'marginal numbers' Percy, or his printer, means, of course, what we call 'volume signatures' : the term is otherwise unknown to me, but so was the peculiar use of 'catchword' by the Clarendon Press printers until I read of it in Dr. McKerrow's *Introduction to Bibliography*: 'marginal numbers' may have been the recognized term in the printing shop of John Hughes.

<sup>2</sup> Writing to Dalrymple on 2 June 1764 Percy says : 'I am studying a subject for a general frontispiece; and humbly intreat the favour of your assistance: 'I think it shd. be in the Gothic style. Some Design, in w<sup>ch</sup> an ancient Minstrel 'with his harp ought to be the principal figure. I am convinced, to a taste so just

ing the first leaf of the first sheet. Volumes 2 and 3, which are without a frontispiece, have the Half-title 'Reliques/of/Ancient English Poetry/Vol. II[III]/'. They have both volume and sheet signatures, the former in vol. iii being 'vol. i'. It is, I suppose, unnecessary for me to say that in many copies of these volumes the half-titles are missing.

'You have taught me', says Percy to Shenstone, 'to dislike a crowded Title-page'. The dislike could not have been deeply rooted. Percy's title is

Reliques / of / Ancient English Poetry : / consisting of / old Heroic Ballads,  
Songs, and other / Pieces of our earlier Poets, / (Chiefly of the Lyric kind.)  
Together with some few of later Date. / Volume the First [Second, Third] /  
[Copperplate engraving] / London : / Printed for J. Dodsley in Pall-Mall. /  
M DCC LXV.

No change in this title was made in the second edition, except the insertion of 'The Second Edition' immediately above the volume number and the alteration of the date. In the third edition, in addition to the corresponding changes, the line '(Chiefly of the Lyric kind.)' was omitted.

The Dedication is surmounted by a copperplate engraving of the Percy arms,<sup>1</sup> with the motto 'Espérance en Dieu' on a scroll, and certain unheraldic embellishments, such as an additional pair of supporters and a view of Alnwick Castle in the background: the Percy badge, the silver crescent, is shown twice in the engraving. The Dedication itself remained unchanged in the second and third editions, except for the addition of the date 'M DCC LXV' at the end. In the fourth edition, 1794, published by J. Nichols, it is replaced by a dedica-

'and elegant as yours, it will be a matter of no difficulty to furnish me with what I want' (Add. MS. 32331, fol. 59 verso). The quotation from the Prologue to Rowe's *Jane Shore* occurs also on the title-page of *A Collection of Old Ballads*, ascribed by Richard Farmer to Ambrose Philips, 1723. Percy's copy of this 'scurilé' book is in the British Museum.

<sup>1</sup> Percy's blazonry is not accurate.

tory inscription to the memory of the Duchess of Northumberland, who died in 1776.

On X 6 verso there is an instance of an uncorrected catchword ('xix Rio' indicating that Percy at one time gave the ballad, which he finally called 'Gentle River, Gentle River', its Spanish title 'Rio Verde, Rio Verde'). The following pages afford an example of a peculiar use of catchwords which has not been noticed by me before, but which I now find to be common. It is that when two languages are printed on opposite pages, each language has a separate series of catchwords.<sup>1</sup> Curiously enough we find on X 7 verso two catchwords, one in English relating to the note on X 8 recto, the other in Spanish to the text on X 8 verso.

There is nothing remarkable about volume 2, which was always volume 2, except the jump from p. 112 to p. 129, a whole sheet being missing. The Advertisement, which occurs on the gathering containing the Errata and Notice to the Binder, mentioned above, tells us that this was 'merely an oversight in the Printer' and that nothing is missing.

I now come to what is perhaps the most interesting part of this examination—the cancels. There are several. In volume 1 (by volume 1 I mean that volume of the published book, not the original volume 1) they are A 8, C 2, C 7, G 4, G 5; in volume 2 N 7, U 2, U 3, U 4, X 4; in volume 3 B 1, B 3, G 3, G 4, G 5, G 6, H 4, P 3, T 6, T 7, Y 2.

I will deal with each cancel or set of cancels separately.

Vol. 1. A 8 is a cancel in some copies, but not in all. I have compared copies containing the cancel with those without it

<sup>1</sup> I have looked at other books printed in the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries, in two languages, and find that they all exhibit the same feature. A good example is provided by *Il Passaggiere* of Benvenuto (printed and published in London in 1612), an amusing and profitable book of some 600 pages, in which the Italian is printed on the versos and the translation by Mr. King, or as Benvenuto calls him 'Messer Chingo', on the opposite rectos.

and they are identical. The correction, whatever it was, must have been made while the sheet was printing off.

C 2, C 7 both bear a volume signature in all copies I have examined. It is of course a sure sign of a cancel when occurring on these leaves ; C 7 has also the sheet signature. I cannot say why Percy made these cancels, but at the foot of C 7 verso there is a reference to 'the Additions, &c., at the end of vol. 3'. This must have been added when the leaf was cancelled.

G 4 and G 5 both have what Percy calls 'marginal numbers' (vol. iii), and the latter is signed abnormally 'G 5'.

In some copies the leaves are conjugate, but in the Cole copy in the British Museum G 4 is pasted to G 3, and G 5 to G 6. My copy shows offset on G 4 verso and G 5 recto of the large caps printed in heavy type on G 4 recto and G 5 verso, showing that the cancels were not thoroughly dry when laid together. I do not know why the cancels were made. It is to be noted, however, that Percy apologizes for inserting the extract from Stephen Hawes's *Palace of Pleasure*, which takes up most of the space ; perhaps this extract was substituted for another ballad at the last moment.

In dealing with the cancels made in the second and third volumes, we are on surer ground and there is no need of conjecture, as the original states are in the Douce Collection in Bodley. These are in Richard Farmer's copies of the original volumes 1 and 2, sent to him, no doubt, by Percy so that he might see his collection 'compleat and intire'. These volumes are without half-title, title, and all preliminary matter, and the 'cuts' are not engraved ; they are not proofs or revises, but represent, as far as the text of the ballads is concerned, the form in which Percy hoped they would appear. This is proved by the quality of the paper, which is the same as that of the published book, and the fact that P 3 of volume 1 is a cancel. The volumes were known to Dr. Furnivall and hurriedly examined by the late Mr. George Parker of the Bodleian :

Mr. R. W. Chapman brought them to my notice some time ago.

Vol. 2. N 7 bears both volume and sheet signature. In the Farmer-Douce copy the first line of the first stanza of the ballad of *King of Scots and Andrew Browne* reads,

Jesus God ! what a grieve is this ?

This was more than the young clergyman, or his advisers, could stand, and he substituted for it the milder and less expressive

‘Out alas !’ what a grieve is this.

I may remind you here that when Boswell in 1769 was volatile enough to repeat to Johnson his little epigrammatic song on matrimony, the second verse of which is

But now my kitten’s grown a cat,  
And cross like other wives,  
O ! by my soul, my honest Mat,  
I fear she has nine lives.

his illustrious friend said, ‘It is very well, Sir ; but you should not swear.’ Whereupon Boswell altered ‘O ! by my soul’, to ‘Alas, alas’. The reference to ‘The Ex-ale-tation of Ale, among Beaumont’s Poems, 8vo. 1653’ was added.

U 2, U 3, U 4 all have volume signature. They all conjugate normally, U 2 with U 7, U 3 with U 6, and U 4 with U 5. This is a bad business. In the Farmer-Douce copy the catch-word of U 2 verso is ‘ix. Cock’ and No. ix Cock Lorel’s Treat occupies U 3, U 4, U 5 recto. There follow No. x ‘The moral Uses of Tobacco’ on U 5 verso and U 6 recto, and No. xi ‘Old Simon the King’ on U 6 recto to U 7 verso. In the book as finally published *The Heir of Linne* replaces these three pieces, the first and third of which are to be found in the Loose and Humorous Songs issued as a supplementary volume to Furnivall and Hales’s edition of the Percy Folio. There are no pieces numbered x and xi, and the rejected ballads were never reintroduced in subsequent editions. Percy

says in an introductory note to the *Heir of Linne*, 'It is owing to an oversight that this old ballad is not placed higher in the volume.' Perhaps it would not have got there at all but for the broad humour of Old Simon.

X<sub>4</sub> has the volume signature. Describing the destruction of Charing Cross, Percy originally wrote: 'Neither its ornamental situation, the beauty of its structure, nor the noble design of its erection . . . could, it seems, preserve it from the merciless zeal of the saints at Westminster, who in 164 . . . ordered it to be demolished, as popish and superstitious.' Percy softened the passage somewhat and substituted 'could preserve it from 'the merciless zeal of the times : For in 164 . . . it was demolished by order of the House of Commons, as popish and 'superstitious.' By 1775 he had discovered the precise date of the demolition, 1647.

Vol. 3 (=the original vol. 1, with that signature throughout). B<sub>1</sub> is a cancel. The Farmer-Douce copy shows that the page was completely reset. In this the title of the section, 'Ancient Songs and Ballads, &c. Series the First. Book 1', occurs on the recto of this leaf: it now comes in its revised form on b<sub>1</sub>.

The introductory note to *The Boy and the Mantle* originally read: 'we believe it more antient, than it appears to be at first sight; the transcriber having reduced the orthography and style, to the standard of his own times. The incidents of the Mantle and the Knife have not, that we recollect, been used by any other writer: though 'tis probable, the former suggested to Spenser the hint of Florimel's Girdle.' Percy later became convinced of the influence on Spenser and printed as much of the 'conceit' as the printer could get into the page.

B<sub>3</sub> recto has the signature 'vol. 1' and the chain-lines are horizontal instead of vertical. Stanza xviii of *The Boy and the Mantle* now reads :

When she had tane the mantle,  
And cast it her about ;  
Then was she bare  
'Before all the rout'.

the last line being provided with inverted commas, which was Percy's method of indicating a deviation from his text. The cancellandum reads in this line

All above the buttock.

G 3 and G 4 both have Percy's 'marginal numbers' or volume signatures. On G 3 recto the reader is referred to a Scottish song on a similar subject to *Lord Thomas and Fair Ellinor* in vol. 2, p. 293, where he is directed to read 'following volume' for 'former volume'.

G 3 verso shows some slight variations, in punctuation and spelling, from Percy's original print; one, a comma instead of a semicolon, after 'sparrows' was obviously an error which was corrected in the second edition.

G 4. Percy originally printed the ballad of *The Lady turned Serving-man* (with a few corrections) 'from an ancient copy in black letter, in the Pepys collection'. We now have it in the *Reliques* from a written copy. The ballad fills G 4, G 5, and G 6. From the published book alone it is not quite clear that G 5 and G 6 are cancels. But in the Cole copy in the British Museum G 3 is conjugate with G 6, and G 4 with G 5. In my own copy there has been much work with the paste. The cancelled version contained 112 lines, and the substituted version 136, so No. xix, 'The Song-birds', had to be suppressed. The catchword of G 6 verso is 'xix Gil'; it should be 'xx Gil'.

H 4 has volume signature. A new 'book' begins on H 4 recto and Percy's interchange of volumes 1 and 3 necessitated the alteration of 'Series the First' into 'Series the Third' in the heading. There are no other important changes.

P 3 has the volume signature and there is a stub. *The Birth*

of *St. George* was originally immediately followed by *St. George and the Dragon*, but Percy interpolated between them, after the volume had been printed off, the entirely foreign ballad of *George Barnwell*. This caused him to cancel P 3, because he had written 'The incidents in this, and Ballad 2d are chiefly taken from the old . . . story-book of the Seven Champions of Christendome'. In the first edition, there being two '2d Ballads', he was forced to substitute 'the other ballad of St. George and the Dragon'. 'Series the First' also needed correction to 'Series the Third'. This leaf was cancelled twice.

T 6 and T 7 have the abnormal volume signature, and they are both otherwise signed. In the Preface Percy warns his readers that 'many of these reliques of antiquity require great allowances to be made for them'; nevertheless, he thought it necessary to remove words not ordinarily mentioned. He first indicated these offensive words by their initial letters followed by asterisks, but on second thoughts he decided to suppress the letters entirely, replacing them by dots. Stanza 14 of the *Dragon of Wantley* reads (T 6 verso) :

Oh, quoth the dragon, pox take thee, come out,  
Thou disturb'st me in my drink :  
And then he turn'd, and . . . at him ;  
Good lack how he did stink !

Similarly on T 7 verso in the last stanza, relating the death of the dragon, we read :

First on one knee, then on back tumbled he,  
So groan'd, kickt, . . . , and dy'd.

In the cancelled leaves the first two letters (sh) of the offending word are given. Two other instances of this procedure occur on T 7 recto. Stanza xvii reads in the first edition :

But More of More-Hall,  
Like a valiant son of Mars,  
As he came like a lout, so he turn'd him about,  
And hit him a kick on the . . .

In the next stanza dots represent the same word used as the first element of a combination, the second of which is 'gut'. Percy restored the initial letters in the second edition.

Y 2. This leaf has the volume signature and the chain-lines are horizontal instead of vertical. The cancellandum has the following as the last stanza of Shenstone's modern version of *The Boy and the Mantle*.

Thus none so oft in Arthur's court  
Had done the deede of shame,  
As she who grudg'd the golden prize  
To Cradock's virtuous dame !

In place of this we are given the information by 'A Friend very conversant with British Antiquites' that the story of the ballad is taken from what is related to Tegan Earfron. This stanza was never restored. In the cancellandum the Glossary is stated to be 'of the obsolete and Scottish words in Volume the First'; the cancellans makes the correction 'Volume the Third'. Finally Y 6-8 were cut away and a new sheet Z substituted.

I have been unable to find any record of large-paper copies, and I am supported in my belief that there were none by the absence in the *London Chronicle* of the usual announcement 'A few copies on Royal Paper have been printed'. I cannot say how many copies were printed, but according to Percy 'the public took off a numerous impression in a short time' (Preface to the Second Edition). Dodsley would print a thousand copies at least. The sale, if not so phenomenally rapid as that of Mrs. Piozzi's *Anecdotes*, was satisfactory. Writing to Dalrymple on 23 March Percy says 'The Reliques sell far better than I could have expected: Dodsley has already had 600 sets fetched away' (Add. MS. 32331, fol. 66). He probably started to revise for the second edition fairly soon after publication, as his Advertisement to that edition is dated 1766; the edition itself was not published

until 1767.<sup>1</sup> The corrections, alterations, and additions were by no means perfunctory. I note that T 3 of volume 2 is a cancel. The third edition did not appear until late in 1775. In this edition similarly the revision was considerable. There are two cancels, both in the first volume, C 6 and I 7.

There remains to say a word on Percy's financial arrangements with his publisher. As we have seen Dodsley gave him a hundred guineas<sup>2</sup> for the first edition in 1761. I have no record of any payment for the second edition, but there can be no doubt that payment was made. In *An Account of the Expense of correcting and improving sundry Books*, published in 1774, it is stated that 'there is scarce an Instance of a new Edition of any living Author's work printed without submitt-ing it to his Correction and Improvement; For though a Bookseller at first generally purchases an Author's absolute Right, yet he never fails to pay him for his Trouble in correct-ing every Edition'. This statement is, I believe, true in general; that it is true of the particular book under discussion, in respect of payment for a corrected edition, is proved by the following receipt kindly brought to my notice by Mr. Graham Pollard:

'Recd. June 21st, 1774 of Mr. James Dodsley the sum of twenty guineas for correcting and improving the third edition of the Reliques of Anct. Poetry, which is to consist of a thousand Copies and I hereby engage not to publish a new edition in my own right, till the said third edition is disposed of.'

Thomas Percy.'

<sup>1</sup> Percy printed separately in 1767 the essays 'On the Ancient Minstrels' (vol. i, bk. i), 'On the Ancient Metrical Romances' (vol. iii, bk. i), 'On the Origin of the English Stage' (vol. ii, bk. ii), and 'On the Metre of Pierce Plowman's Visions' (vol. ii, bk. iii), under the title *Four Essays, as improved and enlarged in the Second Edition*.

<sup>2</sup> Mr. A. S. Collins in his able study, *Authorship in the Days of Johnson*, 1927, p. 34, multiplies this sum by three. I have no record of so liberal a payment. See *ante*, p. 117.

These terms do not strike us to-day as being very generous or even adequate, considering the time spent and the trouble taken<sup>1</sup>. But the real reward of Percy's labours was immortality.

<sup>1</sup> Percy never complained, and the terms were his own. Goldsmith in 1762 was glad to accept sixty guineas for his *Vicar of Wakefield*, Sterne in 1760 was forced to publish the first two volumes of *Tristram Shandy* at his own risk, and Churchill, who could not get a better offer for *The Rosciad* than five pounds, took the same course in 1761. Twenty, sometimes twenty-five, guineas was the normal rate of payment for correcting books of this kind. From what we have seen of Percy's methods I gather that John Hughes's bill was heavy, and there were many 'incidents'. On the whole I do not think Dodsley's profits on the first edition were excessive.

## ADDENDUM

A closer scrutiny reveals the fact that sig. A 3 of vol. 3 of the First Edition is in all probability a cancel. It has the volume signature 'vol. 1' and the sheet signature A 2; whether it ever was A 2 I am unable to say.



## NOTES ON ENGLISH PRINTING IN THE LOW COUNTRIES (EARLY SIXTEENTH CENTURY)

BY M. E. KRONENBERG<sup>1</sup>



M U S T begin with the confession that it never has been exactly my purpose to make a special study of printing in English in my country. But in the course of several pilgrimages to English libraries, undertaken to collect material for the supplementary part of our *Nederlandsche Bibliographie van 1500-1540*,<sup>2</sup> I have seen many English books printed in the Low Countries and also occasionally found out some facts about such publications which still seem to be unknown in England. Consequently I feel glad that the opportunity has been offered to me of communicating some results of my investigations to an English audience.

The fact that nearly all the copies of English books printed in the Low Countries during this period are now in England or America, makes identifying and studying them rather difficult for a Dutch bibliographer. With true British conservatism—is it one of your weaknesses or attractions? or both?—nearly all the English libraries still cling to the old usage not to lend out their books. I owe to this custom the pleasant obligation of paying several visits to English libraries, where I have always met with the kindest reception. Yet, although it may seem ungrateful, I don't feel absolutely satisfied with the result of my researches.

<sup>1</sup> Read before the Bibliographical Society, 19 March 1928.

<sup>2</sup> Wouter Nijhoff en M. E. Kronenberg, *Nederlandsche Bibliographie van 1500-1540* ('s-Grav. 1923). Quoted further: *Ned. Bibl.* Short-title lists (preceding the supplementary part), entitled *Eerste Aanvulling* and *Tweede Aanvulling*, have been issued in *Het Boek* xiv ('s-Grav. 1925) and xvi (1927); also printed separately.

Every bibliographer of early printed books knows that the modern method of identifying unassigned printings, as founded by Robert Proctor and perfected by Konrad Haebler, chiefly consists of type-comparison. For the early sixteenth century the woodcuts, borders, and initials form another important point of comparison. Now, as a rule, reproductions prove a sufficient help, and in this respect we are excellently provided for the above-named period of Dutch printing by Wouter Nijhoff's *Art typographique*.<sup>1</sup> But, there always will remain doubtful and difficult problems of attribution, exclusively to be solved by confronting an indefinite number of contemporary original impressions, such as one can only bring together in a large Dutch or Belgian library. It still remains impossible to use this final expedient for identifying the printers of books kept in England.

Already in the preceding fifteenth century Dutch printers had begun to print for England. Printing then was of great importance in the Low Countries; 1,900–2,000 books were issued up to the close of 1500, whilst England in the same period produced not more than about 360. Apparently this was not enough for the wants of the country, so that foreign printers found a wide field for exportation to England. The pioneer part which Gerard Leeu of Antwerp took in the printing of English books and books for use in England may be reconstructed out of Gordon Duff's *Fifteenth Century English Books*.<sup>2</sup> Amongst them must be mentioned an edition of the *Horae ad usum Sarum* of about 1491 or 1492,<sup>3</sup> which opens the series of books for the Salisbury service printed in the Low Countries. Still scarce up to 1520, they increase rapidly in number afterwards.

<sup>1</sup> Wouter Nijhoff, *L'Art typographique dans les Pays-Bas pendant les années 1500 à 1540*, tomes i–ii (La Haye, 1926).

<sup>2</sup> E. Gordon Duff, *Fifteenth Century English Books*. Bibliographical Society. Illustrated Monographs, No. xviii (Oxf. 1917).

<sup>3</sup> Gordon Duff, op. cit., 180.

Liturgical books,—breviaria, missals, horaria—are, with school-books, the kind of publications most apt to wear out and get damaged. The English press not being able to satisfy the continuous demand of books for the uses of Salisbury and York, needed all over the country, Italy, France, Germany, and the Low Countries supplied by far the greater part of them. This is especially striking in the fifteenth century. When consulting the *Short-title Catalogue*<sup>1</sup>—one of the most brilliant recent publications of the Society and of infinite help to bibliographers—we find that also in the early sixteenth century foreign editions, mostly French, still predominate. It is only about 1540 or 1550 that the English press supplied the country's own liturgical food.

After the death of Gerard Leeu in 1493 there came a temporary ebb in the book-imports from the Low Countries, rapidly mounting again as soon as the press of Jan van Doesborch at Antwerp began about the year 1504. The excellent monograph on this printer, which we owe to Robert Proctor, published by the Society in 1894, describes twenty-nine books printed by him and three doubtful editions, or thirty-two in all. Thanks to the researches of later Belgian and Dutch bibliographers, this number now can be raised to about forty-five editions. At least sixteen, more than a third part of Jan van Doesborch's whole production, are printed in English, most of these being works of fiction. A few of his publications show a remarkable and rare instance of Dutch influence on English literature, being translations from the Dutch. Thus van Doesborch's *Lyfe of Virgilius*, *Frederike of Jennen* and *Tyll Howleglas*<sup>2</sup> are all *editiones principes* in England and were

<sup>1</sup> A. W. Pollard & G. R. Redgrave, *A Short-Title Catalogue of Books Printed in England, Scotland, & Ireland, and of English Books Printed Abroad, 1475-1640* (Lond. 1926). Quoted as *S.T.C.*

<sup>2</sup> Robert Proctor, *Jan van Doesborgh printer at Antwerp*, Bibliographical Society. Illustrated Monographs, No. ii (Lond. 1894), 16, 17, and 19. For the Dutch prototypes the two first named of which are until now only known in later editions, cf. *Ned. Bibl.* 2145, 1086, 2088.

afterwards reprinted by English printers.<sup>1</sup> But the importance of this influence must not be exaggerated, as the Dutch prototypes of these stories all go back in their turn to French or German originals. So, rather than a direct influence, it must be considered one of a secondary order, the Low Countries translating for England what they themselves had borrowed. There is, however, one exception amongst Jan van Doesborch's editions, the *Lyttell Story of Mary of Nemmeghen*<sup>2</sup> of about 1519, which is derived from an original Dutch product and one of which we may well be somewhat proud.

It contains the charming story of a girl falling into the power of the devil, and living with him a life of sin during seven years, and then, having been brought to penitence through godly mediation, gaining absolution and ending her life as a holy nun.

Although it has until now been generally assumed that the English story is a translation from the Dutch *Historie van Mariken van Nieumeghen*,<sup>3</sup> this statement is not quite correct. The Dutch, called a 'Historie', is really a dramatic poem, a kind of miracle play in verse elucidated by bits of prose, whilst the English version is indeed a prose-story, which I rather would consider as the translation of a now-lost Dutch story.<sup>4</sup>

The reason that this wrong notion about the relation between the Dutch and the English *Mary of Nemmeghen* has prevailed so long, must, no doubt, be sought in the fact that the only edition in English has been seen by very few persons, but one single copy of it being known.<sup>5</sup> Until 1920 this belonged to the library at Britwell Court; sold in that year, it afterwards found a place in the Huntington Library in California. As a bibliographer, eagerly wanting to see and describe

<sup>1</sup> Cf. S.T.C. 24828-9, 11361-2, 10563-5.

<sup>2</sup> Proctor, op. cit., 18.

<sup>3</sup> Ned. Bibl. 1089.

<sup>4</sup> I hope to publish a study on the subject shortly in a Dutch periodical.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. S.T.C. 17557.

the book, I at first considered this as a bad accident. However, thanks to the unusual liberality of the photostat department of the Huntington Library, a most perfect photostat facsimile edition of the book has been offered to me, enabling me to read and describe it, as if I possessed the original.

I shall not bore you by mentioning separately the sixteen publications which Van Doesborch printed for export to England. Only a few words are needed about his grammatical publications, the *Longer* and the *Shorter Accidence* and Stanbridge's Latin-English vocabulary, beginning *Os, facies, momentum*.<sup>1</sup> The question might be asked if such books were really printed for use in England or intended for Dutch students learning English. Although some copies may have been used with the latter aim, I am sure they have been exceptions, by far the greater part having been meant for England.

The knowledge of English in the Low Countries was very poor in that period and continued so till much later. Scholars did not want it; Latin was their esperanto. A well-known *Dictionarius quinque linguarum*, edited at Antwerp by Steels in 1534, contains Latin, Dutch, French, Spanish, and Italian, but no English. The enlarged edition of 1540, printed by Crinitus, likewise at Antwerp, the *Dictionarius septem linguarum*, added English and German. Jan Moretus, the son-in-law of Christoffel Plantin and from 1589 his successor, is reported to have been a great polyglot;<sup>2</sup> among the seven languages which he knew (Greek, Latin, Spanish, Italian, French, German, and Dutch) we miss English.

The Low Country printers, selling books to England, probably did not need much knowledge of the language, because there were a good number of Dutch and German stationers settled in London, who acted as their agents. Amongst them may be mentioned as the most interesting Peter Kaetz and

<sup>1</sup> Proctor, op. cit., 5, 10, 6.

<sup>2</sup> M. Sabbe, *Uit het Plantijnsche Huis* (Antw. 1924), p. 69.

Franciscus Byrckman. The former, an Antwerp stationer, living for some years in London, sold especially the Sarum editions, printed at Antwerp by Christoffel van Ruremund from 1523 to 1525. Whilst Kaetz seems to have stayed in England only two years, the Byrckmans, a whole family of them, coming from Cologne and mostly called Franciscus or Arnoldus, can be traced in London for a long space of time, living in St. Paul's Churchyard. The sign of their house is not mentioned. I have a slight suspicion that it was St. Augustine, and that the two editions of *Horae ad usum Sarum*, printed at Antwerp by Christoffel van Ruremund in October 1530 (the title indicates the year 1531) and on 14 May 1531,<sup>1</sup> which were sold 'in cimiterio sancti pauli sub intersignio sancti Augustini', actually point to Byrckman's sign.

We need not trouble ourselves about the relationship of the different Arnoldi and Francisci Byrckman, which seems somewhat puzzling.<sup>2</sup> The firm existed during the whole of the sixteenth century, the house at Antwerp being sold only in 1612. For the early sixteenth-century the principal leader of their widespread book-trade with branches at Cologne, Antwerp, and London and working also for Parisian printers is Franciscus.

According to the Customs Rolls, Franciscus Byrckman received two consignments of printed books in England as early as July 1503.<sup>3</sup> Next year he opened the long series of his issues of Dutch and French printings, sold in London, by publishing together with a Dutchman, Gerard Cluen de Amersfoort, a *Missale ad usum Sarum*, which had been printed in Paris by Wolfgang Hopyl.<sup>4</sup> In the year 1513 Erasmus, then at Cam-

<sup>1</sup> S.T.C. 15966, 15969; *Ned. Bibl.* 1119-20.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. about them J. Cools in *De Gulden Passer* ii (Antw., 's-Grav. 1924), pp. 71-82.

<sup>3</sup> Henry R. Plomer, *Wynkyn de Worde & his Contemporaries from the Death of Caxton to 1535* (Lond. 1925), p. 32.

<sup>4</sup> S.T.C. 16181.

bridge, already mentions him as the man wont to import nearly all books into England.<sup>1</sup>

It happens comparatively seldom that the early printers and editors become living persons for us. As a rule some scattered details of their lives, the place where their house stood, and the kind of books they printed or sold, make up all that we know about them, their individual characters remaining an absolute mystery for us. This is not so with Franciscus Byrckman, thanks to the fact that he did all kind of business for Erasmus and is often mentioned in the letters. Frequently passing between London, France, the Low Countries, Basle, and Frankfurt, he acted as a kind of messenger, not only dispatching books but also letters and money to Erasmus. From the first, however, there arose a feeling of distrust against Byrckman. No wonder! As early as 1513 Erasmus had the unpleasant experience of finding that the revised edition of the *Adagia*, destined by himself for Badius in Paris or for another printer, assigned by Badius, was given by Byrckman, without even consulting Badius, directly to Froben at Basle, who edited it in August of that year. 'En Sicambricam fidem', is Erasmus' verdict.<sup>2</sup> Another time again Byrckman denied a debt of thirteen golden florins which he owed to Erasmus.<sup>3</sup>

It is sufficiently known that Erasmus, with his emotional nature, was inclined to feel warm sympathies as well as strong

<sup>1</sup> '... qui libros ferme omnes solitus est hoc importare.' Cf. *Opus epistolarum Des. Erasmi Roterodami. Denuo recognitum et auctum per P. S. Allen*, i (Oxon. 1906), p. 547. Quoted further: Allen.

<sup>2</sup> Allen, i, p. 547. Only after having read my paper I noticed that Dr. P. S. Allen in *Transactions*, xiii, p. 310, and more amply in *The Age of Erasmus* (Oxf. 1914), pp. 144-5, does not accept Erasmus' indignation as true, rather believing that he was glad to find a pretext of getting rid of Badius as a printer. However, even if this instance may not have been well chosen, proofs of Erasmus' distrust towards Byrckman abound in the correspondence (cf. Allen, iii. p. 160; v, p. 334, and the places quoted there n. 24; vi, pp. 159, 261, 273, &c.).

<sup>3</sup> Allen, v, p. 566.

dislikes, more driven by impulse than by reasoning. Personally I consider it as one of his attractions, which makes this man of prodigious intellect the more human. Anyhow, his partiality is a reason to be somewhat cautious and try to get his opinions about persons confirmed by other tests. In the case of Franciscus Byrckman we may fully rely upon his unfavourable impression. We meet with the same distrust in letters of Vives and Erasmus Schets.<sup>1</sup> They all agree that Franciscus was a most untrustworthy, impudent, and rapacious fellow.

The way Erasmus avenged himself is amusing and worth mentioning. To his *Colloquia*, reprinted August 1523 by Froben, he added the *Dialogus Pseudochei et Philetymi*.<sup>2</sup> The former of the two persons is the true type of the liar and unreliable tradesman, closely resembling Byrckman. Indeed, a diabolical revenge, reminding us of Dante who willingly assigned a place in Inferno to his enemies.

Few books being so popular as the *Colloquia*—from August 1523 until 1530 there were printed at least twenty-two editions—we may feel sure that the rumour of this literary joke quickly spread all over the centres of intellectual Europe, where Byrckman must have been a well-known person. In November 1524 Vives mentions it in a letter.<sup>3</sup> Neither did Erasmus conceal the fact himself, writing about it to Pirckheymer in March 1525.<sup>4</sup>

We can presume that Byrckman did not accept the insult without revenging himself. Thus, after the year 1523, the complaints of Erasmus and Vives about his unfair behaviour increase. He is reported (September 1524) to have spread the false rumour at Antwerp that all Erasmus' works had been burnt at Rome by order of the Pope and that this had induced Erasmus to write something against the Pope.<sup>5</sup> He also seems

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Allen, v, pp. 281 seq., 577; vi, p. 273.

<sup>2</sup> Described *Bibliotheca Belgica*, E 448.

<sup>3</sup> Allen, v, p. 577.

<sup>4</sup> Allen, vi, p. 56.

<sup>5</sup> Allen, v, pp. 542-3.

to have persuaded Froben not to publish any works of Vives, the friend of Erasmus, about that time.<sup>1</sup> Neither did Erasmus' hatred diminish after he had given utterance to his wrath by drawing Byrckman's portrait. As the smell of the cat excites her enemy, the dog, so the name of Byrckman was able to instigate Erasmus. In a letter of January 1527 we find him still using about Byrckman the kind characteristic 'quo viro sol nihil vidit multis annis sceleratus'.<sup>2</sup> Such was the impression contemporaries got of the London stationer Franciscus Byrckman, who is called—or called himself—in the edition of Lyndewode's *Provinciale* (printed by Christoffel van Ruremund, 20 December 1525), 'honestus mercator'.<sup>3</sup>

After this interlude we must return to our subject. The books of liturgical, grammatical, and literary character I have spoken of until now were allowed to be imported freely into England without any restriction. About 1528 we may notice a great change in the kind of books our printers tried to export to England, since these now included Reformation works of Luther, Tyndale, Joye, Frith, and others. The English authorities, aware of the danger, issued several proclamations against the forbidden food (one being dated as early as 23 October 1526).<sup>4</sup> Books, however, have a wonderful way of creeping through unseen holes, and as a bibliographer I am glad to state that the most severe of indexes and measures seldom have proved able to destroy all copies.

The prohibited books, packed in tubs, were probably imported into the country mixed up with wares of more innocent

<sup>1</sup> Allen, v, p. 612.

<sup>2</sup> Allen, vi, p. 455; cf. a similar expression, vi, p. 56.

<sup>3</sup> 'Impensis vero Francisci Brickman honesti mercatoris.' Cf. this ed. S.T.C. 17111; *Ned. Bibl.* 1442.

<sup>4</sup> J. Foxe, *Ecclesiastical history conteyning the actes & monumentes of martyrs*, ii (Lond. 1576), pp. 990–1. For further proclamations cf. also Robert Steele, *Notes on English Books Printed Abroad, 1525–48* (*Transact. Bibliogr. Society*, xi, 1912), pp. 213 seqq., and Arthur W. Reed, *The Regulation of the Book Trade before the Proclamation of 1538*, *ibid.* xv (1920), pp. 157 seqq.

nature. We may be pretty sure that amongst the Low Country merchants, accomplices of the contraband, there were many adherents of the new faith. Nowadays we are used to consider tradesmen—Russians excepted—as rather harmless people, not inclined to propagate new thoughts. In the early sixteenth century they seem to have been of a different mental composition and authorities feared their influence. Thus Aleander, the apostolic legate, sent to the Low Countries to bridle the Reformation, gave special warning against the German merchants<sup>1</sup> who had their agencies at Antwerp. In London they met with the same distrust. There is a curious document in the British Museum Library worth reprinting, a printed German letter from the London Hansa merchants, directed to 'Burgemeysteren und Rait' of Cologne and dated March 1526.<sup>2</sup> We are informed through it that Thomas More, delegated by the Cardinal, came to visit the rooms of all the German merchants in search of Lutheran books.

The first of the Antwerp printers issuing Reformation books for England seems to have been Christoffel van Ruremund, the same man who also printed Sarum books. As early as 1526 he is reported to have printed Tyndale's translation of the New Testament. Through the activity of Hacket, English agent at Antwerp, this publication caused a lawsuit. Although the Margrave first declared that the books should be burnt, the printer banished, and part of his goods confiscated, Van Ruremund's attorney pleaded with success against this verdict. The argument that the Emperor's subjects could not be judged by the laws of another country probably won the cause, this being a plea which always appeals to citizens of a self-conscious nation.<sup>3</sup> Thus Christoffel van Ruremund was in the end

<sup>1</sup> Paul Kalkoff, *Die Anfänge der Gegenreformation in den Niederlanden* i (Halle a. d. S. 1903), p. 39. <sup>2</sup> S.T.C. 16778.

<sup>3</sup> Amongst many other sources cf. E. Gordon Duff, *A Century of the English Book-trade* (Lond. 1905), p. 140, and my own notes in *De Gulden Passer*, iv

acquitted and went on printing. A proclamation of the magistrate, however, of 16 January 1527,<sup>1</sup> forbade keeping any of these English New Testaments which now were to be burnt at Antwerp, as they were in England. I am sorry to say that this is one of the few instances I know of when such a verdict seems to have proved absolutely efficacious. Until now not a single copy of the New Testament, printed at Antwerp in 1526, is known to have escaped the fire.

Hacket, in his letter of 24 November 1526, mentions *two* Antwerp printers having issued the English New Testament.<sup>2</sup> The second probably was Hans van Ruremund, the brother of Christoffel, for although the two brothers generally worked separately they may have been associates for this foreign publication. Hans van Ruremund is not mentioned in the rest of the affair, which may be explained by the fact that he was then abroad, having been condemned on 30 October 1526 to undertake a pilgrimage to the Holy Blood at Wilsnack in Prussia, and was only allowed to come back to Antwerp in March 1527.<sup>3</sup> Connexion between this punishment and the printing of the English New Testament is not necessary, as Hans also was guilty of printing a Dutch Bible of Lutheran character in 1525.<sup>4</sup>

This first prosecution did not discourage the brothers Van (Antw., 's-Grav. 1926), p. 113. For another lawsuit also due to the instigation of Hacket (in 1528-9) against the Antwerp merchant Richard Hermans, accused of having sent over prohibited books to England and of lodging heretical English subjects in his house (amongst them 'Willelm Tandeloo', standing probably for Tyndale), cf. P. Génard, *Antwerpsch Archievenblad*, vii (Antw.), pp. 166-78, and R. van Roosbroeck in *De Gulden Passer*, v (1927), p. 270. The accused also was dismissed.

<sup>1</sup> *Corpus documentorum inquisitionis haereticae pravitatis Nederlandiae*, uitgegeven door Paul Fredericq en zyne leerlingen, v (Gent-'s-Grav. 1903), pp. 184-5, and Steele, op. cit., p. 190.

<sup>2</sup> Gordon Duff, *Century*, p. 140.

<sup>3</sup> *Corpus documentorum inquisitionis, &c.*, v, pp. 154-5, and *De Gulden Passer*, iv, p. 113.

<sup>4</sup> In different parts; cf. *Ned. Bibl.* 380-1.

Ruremund. A few years later in 1528 we find among ' Persons abiured ' in England ' John Raymund a Dutchman '—without doubt our Hans, this being a pet name for Johan—' for causing ' fyftene hundreth of Tyndales new Testaments to be printed ' at Antwarpe, and for bryngyng fyue hundreth into England '.<sup>1</sup>

Was this a new edition printed about 1527, or did he only try to sell remnant copies of the issue already mentioned? If it was actually a new edition no copy of this either seems to be left. These Van Ruremuds were fearless people. Notwithstanding the condemnation of Hans in 1528, Christoffel also went over to England in order to sell New Testaments about 1530 or 1531, was put in prison at Westminster, and there died.<sup>2</sup> We find no mention whether he died a natural death or was executed.

His widow, apparently a plucky woman, worthy to have married into such a family, continued his trade and still had the courage to go on printing the forbidden New Testaments. Of both her editions, of August 1534 and 9 January 1535, the British Museum Library possesses a copy.<sup>3</sup> She followed Tyndale's translation, altered by Joye, whose text Tyndale, in his own revised edition of November 1534 printed at Antwerp by Martinus de Keyser,<sup>4</sup> denounced as incorrect. Joye in his turn answered Tyndale's attack by an *Apologye* edited in 1535,<sup>5</sup> out of which Gordon Duff has quoted some curious details about the printing of Tyndale's New Testament in the

<sup>1</sup> Foxe, op. cit., ii (Lond. 1576), p. 1013. I do not feel sure that Gordon Duff, *Century*, p. 141, is right when tentatively identifying him with ' John Holibusche ... born in Ruremond ', who took out letters of denization on 24 February 1535. Cf. for the later life of Hans van Ruremund, F. van Ortroy in *Revue des bibliothèques*, 34 (Paris 1924), pp. 408 seq.

<sup>2</sup> Foxe, op. cit., ii, p. 1017.

<sup>3</sup> S.T.C. 2825 and 2827.

<sup>4</sup> S.T.C. 2826.

<sup>5</sup> G. Joye, *An apologye to satisfye W. Tindale, of his new Testament*, 1534 in nouember (London ? J. Byddell ?), 1535, 8vo. Cf. S.T.C. 14820.

Low Countries and the lack of respect for a correct text the Dutch then showed.<sup>1</sup>

The New Testament edition of January 1535 seems to have been the last which the widow of Christoffel van Ruremund issued. Unless—and here I touch a most intricate problem—one or more of the three renowned editions of 1536, called the Mole, the Blank Stone, and the Engraver's Mark editions, according to slight differences in the woodcut of St. Paul, might prove to have been printed by her. In my first Supplement to our *Nederlandsche Bibliographie* I have had the presumption to ascribe two of these editions—fortunately with sign of interrogation—to her printing-office. Now, after having seen and confronted more complete copies of all the three editions in the library of the British and Foreign Bible Society, I am greatly in doubt of my own ascription and feel more inclined to ascribe them, or at least two of them (Mole and Engraver's Mark editions), to the Antwerp printer Matthaeus Crom.

The puzzle of these three New Testament editions, nearly but not altogether identical, is really one of the most exasperating I have met in my bibliographical career. Only if one were able to bring the three editions together with copies of nearly all the contemporary Antwerp Bibles and New Testaments in Dutch, Latin, French, and English, and if then one were allowed and felt inclined to devote an unlimited time to the problem, I believe there would be a slight chance of solving the question, who was their printer. Another problem, though of less importance, would still be in what order the three editions were printed. Darlow and Moule in their excellent *Catalogue*<sup>2</sup> accept the order : Mole, Engraver's Mark, Blank

<sup>1</sup> E. Gordon Duff, *The Printers, Stationers, and Bookbinders of Westminster and London from 1476 to 1535* (Cambr. 1906), pp. 229–30.

<sup>2</sup> T. H. Darlow and H. F. Moule, *Historical Catalogue of the Printed Editions of Holy Scripture in the Library of the British and Foreign Bible Society, Part I* (Lond. 1903), p. II.

Stone. This does not seem quite satisfactory. My own impression, expressed with the greatest diffidence, is that the three may have been printed altogether at the same time, the different blocks of the cuts one time being used first for one edition and another time again first for another. The fact that one of the cuts, in respect of its degree of soundness, shows the chronological order Engraver's Mark, Blank Stone, Mole, and another again Engraver's Mark, Mole, Blank Stone, leads me to this conjecture.

The meaning of the cabballistic letters A B K on the cut of St. Paul in the Engraver's Mark edition, once also a riddle, has been solved, I believe, first by Gordon Duff.<sup>1</sup> They represent the initials of Adriaen Kempe de Bouchout, editor and perhaps also printer at Antwerp. The cut is used in other books edited by him. About the mysterious mole, represented in the variant cut, I have a suggestion of my own. If it actually is a mole—I never feel quite sure of it—I suspect it to be the device of Henrick Peetersen van Middelburch, another Antwerp printer, whose house had the sign of the mole.

For the moment these vague suppositions are all I can contribute to the solution of the problem, who printed the three renowned editions of the New Testament at Antwerp (1536). After all these uncertainties I am glad to give a more positive attribution to another hitherto unasccribed or wrongly ascribed New Testament of 1538 (in 16°) in the translation of Coverdale.<sup>2</sup> Up to now I have only seen incomplete copies of it (two in the British Museum Library, one in the library of the British and Foreign Bible Society,<sup>3</sup> and another at Cambridge in the University Library). The unnamed printer is Guilielmus Montanus at Antwerp. The way of framing the whole page by a fillet is characteristic of this printer.

<sup>1</sup> Gordon Duff, *The Printers, &c., of Westminster and London*, p. 231.

<sup>2</sup> C. E. Sayle, *Early English Printed Books in the University Library Cambridge, 1475-1640*, iii (Cambr. 1903), 6671. Probably S.T.C. 2840.

<sup>3</sup> Not in the catalogue of Darlow and Moule, being a later acquisition.

Whilst Christoffel and Hans van Ruremund and others printed with more or less success their English bibles, either mentioning their name or not, either molested or unmolested, another Antwerp printer was at work, who used quite a new method to perform his dangerous business, hiding himself behind a pseudonym. Tyndale's *Parable of the wicked mammon*, 'Printed at Malborowe in the londe off hesse' and issued on 8 May 1528, opened the series. Up to 1530 thirteen other English Reformation books, parts of the Bible in Tyndale's translation, tracts of Tyndale and Frith, an English translation of Erasmus' *Paraclesis*, *A proper dyaloge betwene a gentillman and a husbandman*, &c., were issued, most of them with the same printer's name, some only with the address 'Marborsch', whilst the *Seconde-Fifth boke of Moses* and *The examinacion of Master William Thorpe* bear no imprint at all but undoubtedly belong to the same set.

The mysterious printer Hans Luft has for long years been the object of researches. The fact that the name was a real one, Hans Luft being a well-known printer of Reformation books at Wittenberg, made the problem still more complicated. The possibility of the Wittenberg printer having opened an agency at Marburg had to be considered. I believe Von Dommer, the bibliographer of Marburg printers, was the first to suggest that the Marburg Hans Luft must be taken for a pseudonym of a Dutch printer.<sup>1</sup> The existence of a Dutch book with the same address (a translation of the *Articles* given at Marburg on 3 October 1529) lead him to the suggestion.

Robert Steele, in his excellent paper, 'Notes on English Books printed abroad, 1525-48', read before the Society on 16 January 1911, founded his opinion on the more solid base of type-comparison when stating: 'The place of printing of this series is doubtful, but seems most probably to have been

<sup>1</sup> A. von Dommer, *Die ältesten Drucke aus Marburg in Hessen, 1527-1566* (Marburg 1892), pp. (31)-(32).

'at Antwerp. It would be possible to settle the question if we could find an earlier use of the woodcut initials. For that reason I have given an almost complete set of the woodcuts of the "Marburg" books.'<sup>1</sup>

I owe the fact that I have been able to find out the name of the printer who for nearly four centuries has hid himself behind the pseudonym of Hans Luft very largely to the pioneer work of Mr. Steele. Without his numerous reproductions of types, borders, and initials, I probably should not have been able to settle with absolute certainty that Hans Luft of Marburg is identical with the Antwerp printer Johannes Hoochstraten.

I have devoted an article to him in the Dutch periodical *Het Boek* of the year 1919,<sup>2</sup> a short account of which was given in *The Athenaeum* of 28 November 1919, under the title *Tyndale's Printer*. However, I find that the now settled question—Who was Hans Luft at Marburg?—seems to have remained an unsolved question here. The *Short-title Catalogue*, quoting these books, sometimes writes [Antwerp] between brackets, other times [Antwerp?] with sign of interrogation,<sup>3</sup> ignoring the printer's name.

Although this result of one's publications is not very encouraging, I try to face the disappointment by considering it as the natural consequence of writing in a language that few people abroad understand. At any rate I am glad to have an opportunity to amend things by telling you about them in your own language.

The reason why it proved so difficult to discover who was Hans Luft of Marburg must be sought in the fact that of nearly all his English books only copies are known to exist in

<sup>1</sup> *Transactions*, xi (Lond. 1912), p. 197.

<sup>2</sup> Entitled *De geheimzinnige drukkers Adam Anonymus te Bazel en Hans Luft te Marburg ontmaskerd (1526-1535)* in *Het Boek*, viii ('s-Grav. 1919), pp. 241-80. Also printed separately.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. S.T.C. 2350, 3021, 6813, 10493, 11394, 24446-7, 24454, 24465.

England and America, whilst on the other hand books printed by Johannes Hoochstraten bearing his name are exceedingly rare in the Low Countries. Many of them were printed at Lübeck and Malmö, and are kept in the Scandinavian countries. Thus only foreign bibliographers could examine his printings thoroughly, and being generally not quite familiar with Low Country books they were hardly able to discover the relationship. However, Robert Steele, by describing the English books, and Lauritz Nielsen, the Danish bibliographer, by describing the Scandinavian set,<sup>1</sup> contributed largely to the final solution.

It is not my intention to explain again how I gradually came to the conclusion that the Hans Luft of the English books is a pseudonym of Johannes Hoochstraten; I trust you will believe me that there is not a shadow of doubt left as to their identification. Non-believers are invited to read my article, quoted above (in *Het Boek*, 1919). Types, initials, and borders of the Hans Luft impression are all found in absolutely identical state in books printed and signed by Johannes Hoochstraten. Instead of dull technical details I prefer to tell you something about the life and publications of this Antwerp printer who is a favourite of mine.

He began his career at Antwerp in 1525 by printing for two years together with a certain Hadrianus Tilianus, and published some books of Chrysostomus, Barlandus, and Theophilus Godfridus Harmelatensis, none of which show as yet the least inclination to the new religion. Only the fact that he got a good deal of his material from the printing-office of Simon Corver, who first worked at Zwolle and is probably identical with the so-called Anonymous Hamburg Printer of 1523, makes it likely that he had already some connexions with Lutheran circles,

<sup>1</sup> Lauritz Nielsen, *Christian Pedersen og Bogtrykkerkunsten* in *Nordisk Tidskrift för Bok- och Biblioteksväsen*, v (Upps. 1918), pp. 45–60. Cf. also his *Dansk Bibliografi, 1482–1550* (Københ.-Krist. 1919).

Corver being one of the Dutch printers who issued a great number of Reformation books.<sup>1</sup>

From 1526 until August 1531 the name of Hoochstraten is not mentioned in any publication. We then find him printing in the free town of Lübeck until April 1532. Afterwards he became the technical associate of Christiern Pedersern, the Scandinavian reformer, who in 1533 started printing at Malmö, publishing until the beginning of 1535 a whole series of Reformation books, mostly in Danish. Then again, for about five years, we lose the track of Johannes Hoochstraten. However, in 1540, all of a sudden, we find him back, now printing at the same address 'In Rapo', which Michiel Hillen van Hoochstraten, most probably his father, was using. Until 1543, supposed to be the year of his death, he there issued a good many inoffensive publications, mostly schoolbooks.

We may notice that his public career shows two gaps, from 1526-31, and from 1535-40. The first is marvellously filled up with the whole series of Hans Luft books, issued between May 1528 and 1530. Together with this pseudonym for English publications he invented another for two forbidden Dutch books, printed in 1526 and 1528, now calling himself 'Adam Anonymus, Basel'.<sup>2</sup>

The question has still to be considered if these books with fictitious addresses were really printed by him at Antwerp or whether he had already chosen another field of operation for his dangerous business. Although a strict proof cannot be given, yet it seems highly probable that until 1531 he still was at work at Antwerp. The later connexion with Christiern Pedersen, who is known to have stayed at Antwerp in the years 1529-31, may point to the fact. There is, however, a much stronger argument. Amongst persons abjured in London in

<sup>1</sup> About Simon Corver's printing-office cf. my article in *Het Boek*, xv ('s-Grav. 1926), pp. 241-56.

<sup>2</sup> *Ned. Bibl.* 508, and id. *Tweede Aanvulling*, p. 65, i.v. Luther.

1531 is mentioned Michaell Lobleyn, and one of the articles of his accusation was : ' That hee beyng at Antwerp bought certeine ' bokes inhibited, as the Reuelation of Antichrist, y<sup>e</sup> obedience ' of a Christen man, the wicked Mammon, Frith against ' Purgatory.'<sup>1</sup> Now it is fairly evident that books bought at Antwerp as a rule also were printed there. Antwerp was not, like Frankfurt, a book-fair, but a place where the established printers or editors sold their own editions. And as the three first-named of these inhibited books belong to the Hans Luft printings,<sup>2</sup> it seems highly probable that Lobleyn bought them from the printer himself, who was consequently then residing at Antwerp.

It is a fact worth noting that even in Malmö Hoochstraten, faithful to his first love, did not quite leave off printing English books, issuing the English translation of Pedersen's tract, entitled *The richt vay to the Kingdom of heuine*.<sup>3</sup> A pseudonym now was not necessary ; in a country where the King himself favoured the Reformation, prosecution was not to be feared.

There is another English book, hitherto wrongly ascribed, which must be considered as a Malmö impression of Hoochstraten. It is the *Prognostication for the yere 1534* by Laet, three fragments of which exist in the British Museum Library<sup>4</sup> in the so-called Bagford fragments. Mr. Steele has already noticed that the type is the same as that of the Hans Luft printings, but he added : ' The type now passes into other hands ', and ascribed it to Antwerp without printer's name.<sup>5</sup> This seems not altogether right. First we may assume that a *Prognostication for 1534* was probably printed towards the end of 1533. The type proves to be one of those which Hoochstraten, after often having used it at Antwerp, took with him to Malmö. I know of several proofs that he used it there in the years 1534

<sup>1</sup> Foxe, op. cit., ii, p. 1017.

<sup>2</sup> S.T.C. 11394, 24446, 24454.

<sup>3</sup> Nielsen, *Dansk Bibliografi*, 215 ; S.T.C. 19525.

<sup>4</sup> S.T.C. 15130.

<sup>5</sup> *Transactions*, xi, p. 211. For the type cf. ibid., p. 207, Fig. 31.

and 1535.<sup>1</sup> Consequently when the *Prognostication* was printed it was still his, and the book has to be considered as a product of his Malmö press. Its description in future asks a place in a supplement to the *Dansk Bibliografi*, and is not allowed to be incorporated in our *Nederlandsche Bibliographie*.

We have noticed the second gap in Hoochstraten's career from 1535-40. The moment his real name disappears again we find Hans Luft of Marburg arising from the dead and issuing on 29 October 1535 the second edition of Tyndale's *Obedience*,<sup>2</sup> now with quite a new type, border, and initials. In this period I know of three or four other publications which I am almost sure came from his press, although, as he was working with new material, it is not so easy to trace him. Necessity, or a whim, seems to have led him to choose other pseudonyms, once calling himself 'Peter Congeth at Parishe'<sup>3</sup> and another time 'Joannes Philoponos at Malborow'.<sup>4</sup> It seems probable that *The testament of master Wylliam Tracie* by Tyndale and Frith of 1535<sup>5</sup> and Bullinger's *Christen state of matrimonye* of December 1541<sup>6</sup> also derive from his press.

There still remains another problem concerning one of Hans Luft's printings. Of Tyndale's *Parable of the wicked mammon* there exist two absolutely different editions, both with the Marburg address and both with the date 8 May 1528.<sup>7</sup> English bibliographers consider one of them to have been antedated and a product of a London press. My insufficient knowledge of contemporary English printing proves a hindrance to settle the question, which I leave with full confidence to English bibliographers.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Nielsen, *Dansk Bibliografi* 69, 115, 129, 193. It is the type No. 9 of Nielsen.

<sup>2</sup> S.T.C. 24447.

<sup>3</sup> S.T.C. 14667 (John Johnson, *An confortable exhortation, &c.*, 20 January 1535).

<sup>4</sup> S.T.C. 20193 (*Certeine prayers and godly meditacyons*, 1538).

<sup>5</sup> S.T.C. 24167.

<sup>6</sup> S.T.C. 4045.

<sup>7</sup> S.T.C. 24454 and 24460. Cf. also Sayle, op. cit., iii, 7089.

If the book is indeed printed in England the appropriation of Hoochstraten's pseudonym shows its popularity and efficiency. There is another example denoting the success of his fictitious names. An abridgement of Erasmus' *Enchiridion*, made by Coverdale, shows the false name and address 'Ausborsch, Adam Anomimus, 1545',<sup>1</sup> clearly imitating Hoochstraten's invention, Adam Anonymus of Basle. A superficial inspection of the British Museum copy has proved to me that it is a Low Country book, probably printed at Antwerp. At any rate not printed by Johannes Hoochstraten, who seems to have died in 1543.

If we look back on his career we are struck by the courage which this adherent of the Reformation displayed, never tired of inventing new pseudonyms in order to mislead the inquisitors, and travelling abroad probably to avoid persecution. He is the true type of a daring young fellow, citizen of a rising nation, and as a printer of a good number of English books he surely deserves your interest.

There is another printer who clearly has imitated Hoochstraten in using fictitious addresses for his prohibited English publications. That is Martinus de Keyser or Caesar, one of the most productive of Antwerp printers. Whilst Hoochstraten printed most of his books for England between 1528 and 1530, the first which De Keyser issued, Joye's translation of *The prophete Isaye*, dates from 10 May 1531 and bears the address, 'Printed in Strasburg by Balthassar Beckenth'.<sup>2</sup> Next year in May he published another book with a fictitious address, which until now has not yet been recognized as coming from his press. This is *Invicta Veritas*, the English tract which Thomas Abell wrote against the King's divorce, bearing the address 'Luneberge'.<sup>3</sup> An examination of types and initials proved to me with absolute certainty that De Keyser printed it. These

<sup>1</sup> S.T.C. 10488.

<sup>2</sup> S.T.C. 2777.

<sup>3</sup> S.T.C. 61 (another copy at the Brit. Mus. Library).

are the only two instances I know where this printer used fictitious addresses; as a rule he published his prohibited English books without printer's name or address. Mr. Steele in his valuable paper has mentioned ten of them, only six of which I fully dare to accept.<sup>1</sup> Besides these I can name at least ten other publications, partly of a less dangerous character, which De Keyser destined for England.<sup>2</sup> Amongst his English editions we find, tolerantly standing side by side, parts of the reformed bible and innocuous grammatical tracts of Colet and Wolsey, and even a devotional Roman-Catholic book *The mystik sweet rosary of the faythful soule* (1533).

The books printed for export to England form only a minor part of De Keyser's whole production, which in the twelve years of his activity amounts to about 170 publications. It is rather curious that nearly all his Protestant tracts are either in French or in English. This probably is the way by which he managed to escape prosecution, such books being at once exported, thus not drawing the attention of the Antwerp authorities.

When Martinus de Keyser died in 1536 his widow continued the trade for some years. There is nothing very striking in her publications. For England she printed, as far as I know, only two editions of Colet's *Aeditio* in June 1537 and in May 1539,<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Transactions*, xi, pp. 219-25. Frith, *An other boke against Rastel* (*ibid.*, p. 222, no. 4; cf. also *S.T.C.* 11385), does not seem a De Keyser print. Neither is Frith, *A disputacion of Purgatorye* (Steele, p. 222, no. 2; *S.T.C.* 11387). Steele is mistaken when identifying this edition with Sayle 6680. Sayle 6680 is *S.T.C.* 11388, a different edition, which may rather have been printed by De Keyser, although I am not quite sure about it. Doubtful also Steele, pp. 219-222, no. 1 (*S.T.C.* 24437) and p. 222, no. 5 (*S.T.C.* 16821).

<sup>2</sup> They are the books mentioned *S.T.C.* 61, 85, 2351 (there erroneously ascribed to Hans Luft, Malborow; also mentioned by Steele, *Transactions*, xi, p. 209; Sayle, iii, 6275), 2372, 2778, 2826, 2830, 5543<sup>a</sup> (probably printed together with 25945), 5543<sup>b</sup> (probably together with 25946), 21318.

<sup>3</sup> Neither of these in the *S.T.C.* Cf. *Ned. Bibl.*, *Tweede Aanvulling*, p. 57. A copy of both in the Bodleian Library and an incomplete one of the second in Marsh Library, Dublin.

both of which were accompanied, as they generally were in those days, by Wolsey's *Rudimenta*.<sup>1</sup> The *Short-Title Catalogue* was again of great use in helping me to find a copy of the *Rudimenta* of 1539, which for long I had supposed to exist, being the faithful satellite of the *Aeditio* edition of the same year. Photographs kindly made for me in the Marsh Library at Dublin proved that the *Rudimenta* published in 1539, without name or address, is printed by De Keyser's widow.

The University Library at Cambridge possesses a kind of illustrated prayer-book, *The Rosarye of our lady*,<sup>2</sup> printed in the Low Countries. Although known to English bibliographers, it has been hitherto dated too early '[1510 ?]' and only assigned to '[Antwerp ?]'. The printer actually is Willem Vorsterman at Antwerp, and the cuts point to the date about 1525. This book excepted I only know of one other English publication of Vorsterman. It is entitled *A neawe treatys as concernyng the excellency of the nedle worcke spannishe stitche and weavynge in the frame*.<sup>3</sup> A fragment of it, till recently in a private collection at Vienna, has now found its way to the Rijks-Prentenkabinet at Amsterdam. It consists only of the title-page, and one must heartily wish that a complete copy of this remarkable little book still may be traced. We can assume that it is the English version of *Ung tractat de la noble art de leguille*, published in two editions by the same printer.<sup>4</sup> These French books have hardly any text, but are of great value for the history of technical art, as they contain a whole series of woodcuts, being patterns of weaving.

The editions of the widow of Martinus de Keyser and of

<sup>1</sup> The first not in S.T.C.; cf. *Ned. Bibl.* 2214. The second S.T.C. 25947.

<sup>2</sup> Sayle, iii. 6663; S.T.C. 17544.

<sup>3</sup> Not in the S.T.C. Mentioned by Campbell Dodgson in *Mitteilungen der Gesellschaft für vervielfältigende Kunst* (*Beilage der graphischen Künste*, xxxiv, Wien 1911), p. 8.      <sup>4</sup> *Ned. Bibl.* 2072, and *ibid.*, *Eerste Aanvulling*, p. 46.

Willem Vorsterman have led us out of the world of forbidden books, and though they are interesting as proofs of the Dutch commercial activity, they lack the charm of dangerous enterprise possessed by the editions I have mentioned of Hans and Christoffel van Ruremund, Johannes Hoochstraten, and Martinus de Keyser. One feels somewhat proud of these printers, who, in spite of condemnations, banishments, and even executions, provided their own and the adjacent countries for many years with prohibited books.

Is there much truth in your English saying that

In matters of commerce the fault of the Dutch

Is offering too little and asking too much?

You must not expect me to answer the question. Anyhow, the verdict is not applicable to our printers of the Reformation age. Maybe they sold their books at a good price; still, they offered more than they gave by putting their life in the balance when propagating the new religion. Theirs has been a hidden heroism, which deserves our respect.

Mr. Steele's aim, when reading his *Notes on English Books Printed Abroad*, was 'to furnish part of the material for a bibliography of the early Protestant Reformation tracts issued abroad during the reigns of Henry VIII and Mary, and to serve as a nucleus for a completer work'.<sup>1</sup>

My notes are more incoherent, rather collected in the form of a causerie about the books and their printers, and including Reformation tracts as well as other kind of publications. They do not reach farther than the year 1540, fatal to my knowledge like the stroke of twelve to Cinderella. For, as the incunabulist has to stop at the threshold of the year 1501, our *Nederlandsche Bibliographie* has chosen 1 January 1541 as a limit.

I seem now to have exhausted the time allotted to a lecturer, but still I hope you will grant me a few minutes more for an

<sup>1</sup> *Transactions*, xi, p. 189.

indiscreet question, although I am afraid I gradually remind you of the commercial traveller whom one never gets rid of. However, the rare opportunity of addressing so many persons abroad, connected with books and libraries, urges me to ask you this favour.

It is known to some of you that I have been the collaborator of Mr. Wouter Nijhoff for the *Nederlandsche Bibliographie van 1500-40*, which was completed in 1923. The work contains 2,221 full descriptions of books printed in the Low Countries, in whatever language, between 1500 and 1540. At the time we published it we knew it was incomplete, considering it rather as the first part of a complete work. Ever since it appeared I have been collecting material, so that now again more than eleven hundred descriptions are ready for publication in a second part, short-title lists of which have been published in 1925 and 1927. It is both a charm and a fatality of bibliography that one never gets even with it. The bibliographer and the *bourgeois satisfait* will for ever remain antipodes. Although more than 3,300 books now have been described and a hundred or somewhat more are waiting to be so, I still know of about 600-700 titles of Low Country books of the period which should find a place in our bibliography, of which I have not yet been able to trace a copy.

I feel quite sure that England, with its great number of public and private libraries and its fine tradition of book-collecting, still hides some treasures unknown to me.

My indiscreet question is that in case any of you happen to meet with copies of Low Country books of the period, not inserted in our *Nederlandsche Bibliographie* or the two supplementary lists (*Eerste* and *Tweede Aanvulling*), will you have the great kindness to let me know?<sup>1</sup> I only hope you will not deduce from this last indiscretion that 'asking too much' is indeed one of our national Dutch vices.

<sup>1</sup> Address: The Hague, Laan van Meerdervoort, 110.

## THE IMPORTATION OF LOW COUNTRY AND FRENCH BOOKS INTO ENGLAND, 1480 AND 1502-3

BY HENRY R. PLOMER



N a paper contributed to *The Library* in September 1923 I drew attention to the importation of books into England from the Continent between the years 1479 and 1508, as revealed by the Custom House returns for the Port of London. Amongst other things not least remarkable was the frequency and regularity with which the diminutive merchant vessels of that age made their trips to and fro, and also the fearlessness of those merchants who faced the dangers and discomforts inseparable from such voyages. Some of the ships made half a dozen trips in the course of the year, and judging from the nature and quantity of the merchandise they carried they must have been heavily laden.

Although 'maunds' and bales of books were the smallest part of their cargoes, and were as a rule only shipped by the larger and presumably most seaworthy vessels, the consignments under this head were frequent and valuable and prove that the Continental stationers found a ready sale for their books in this country, and we know that they attended all the chief fairs for that purpose.

In my former paper I pointed out that amongst the names of those importing books many were clearly general merchants to whom books were consigned, either as agents for booksellers whose names were not given, or simply as a matter of speculation for them to dispose of where and when they could. Other names were not familiar to me as those of printers or booksellers. In the interval since that paper was written, accident has brought to light some additional information

about one or two of these unrecognized strangers, who turn out to have been important members of the book-trade.

In the earliest roll searched, that covering the year from Michaelmas 1479-80 to Michaelmas 1480-1, a certain John van Acon was mentioned as importing ninety-three volumes of 'divers histories'. Now, Monsieur A. Vincent, in his work *La Typographie en Belgique au xv<sup>e</sup> siècle*, 1924, states that the family name of John of Westphalia, the first printer in Belgium who set up a press at Alost in 1473, was 'de Aken' or 'van Aken'. Van Acon and 'van Aken' may easily refer to the same person, and as no other stationer of that period is known to have borne that name, we may surely recognize in 'John van Acon' the importer of books, John of Westphalia, the Belgian printer. As the entry makes no mention of the books being consigned to any factor, we may conjecture that he travelled with them, and while hitherto there has been no suggestion that he ever visited this country, in doing so he was only following the custom of the trade, and his object may have been to place on the English market those ninety-three volumes of 'divers histories'. Holtrop<sup>1</sup> tells us that John of Westphalia was a most prolific printer after he left Alost. In 1475 he printed six works in folio at the rate of one leaf per day, and previous to the year 1479 he had issued many notable works such as the *Opus ruralium* of Petrus de Crescenziis in 1478. Amongst the undated issues of his press was one that appealed particularly to the English people, the *Sermones tredecim* of Michael de Ungaria, who in the thirteenth dealt with the disputes at Oxford and Cambridge over the Real Presence, and used a number of English quotations such as 'Cristys bloode clensyth and kepy3th mannys sowle fro dedely synne', 'Cristys blood ledy3th man to blysse that god ys yn'. These Sermons were printed by nearly all the Continental printers and found their way into England in large numbers.

<sup>1</sup> Holtrop, *Monumens typographiques*, p. 49.

John de Westphalia is said to have retired from business in 1496 and died early in the sixteenth century. The Elizabeth von Acon, whose name occurs in the roll for 1490-1, may possibly have been a relative.

The roll for 18-19 Hen. VII (i.e. 1502-3)<sup>1</sup> yielded interesting references to several men, well known in the annals of the English book-trade; but it also contained many names which I failed to identify. One of these was given as 'Gouert Bakke'. Any one more familiar with the Continental presses than I was at that time would at once have recognized the well-known Antwerp printer Godfrey Bac, who is mentioned in the Registers of the Guild of St. Luke as a bookbinder in 1492, and who afterwards secured a well-established printing business by marrying the widow of Mathias van der Goes, the Antwerp printer.

The full entry on the Customs Roll relating to him is as follows: '16<sup>th</sup> Maii [i.e. May 1503] by the ship of Wegar or Wigard Johnson. Gou[er]t Bakke al[ien] p[ro] 1 basket libr[is] imp[re]sis xx\*. Custom 4<sup>d</sup>'.

In this instance we can prove that the importer brought the books over himself, as there exists an interesting clue to the cause of his visit to England. Amongst his friends Godfrey Bac numbered the London bookseller John Boiedens, who was also a native of Antwerp, but had been settled in England for many years and lived in the parish of St. Clement's, Eastcheap. On 11 October previous to this visit of Bac's John Boiedens made his will, and amongst his bequests was one to 'Elizabeth Bac my goddaughter'. He also appointed 'Godfrey Bac of Antwerp' one of the overseers of his will. He died before 30 March 1503, that being the date upon which the will was proved, and in all probability it was business connected with the winding up of his old friend's estate and his duty as 'overseer' that had brought Godfrey Bac across the sea, and the little

<sup>1</sup> P.R.O. E. 1222. 80/2.

parcel of books he brought with him were perhaps intended as gifts rather than for sale. The ship also brought a small consignment of books that had been ordered by John Boiedens before his death.

An even more important foreign stationer whom I failed to recognize when writing my previous paper was mentioned in the following entry :

'25 Sept<sup>r</sup>. 17-18 Hen. VII [i. e. Sept<sup>r</sup>. 1502] Gorges Mittellus  
'al[ien] p[ro] 1 fard[ell] libr[is] imp[ressis] val. iiij<sup>l</sup> vj<sup>s</sup> viij<sup>d</sup>.  
'Custom 10<sup>d</sup>'

There is little doubt that this refers to the noted printer in Paris, George Mittellus or Georges Mittelhus, and the entry is of peculiar interest, as hitherto all French bibliographers, with the single exception of M. Renouard, have stated that nothing is known of Mittelhus after 1500, and even M. Renouard will not venture beyond the statement that he printed until 1500 'and perhaps after.'

This entry proves that he was importing books into England in the autumn of 1502.

Amongst his latest dated works was a beautiful little octavo entitled *Regule Mandatorum Johannis de gerson cancellarii parisiensis*, with a woodcut of the crucifixion below the title and a colophon telling us that it was finished on 6 November 1500. Such a book would have found a ready sale in England. On the other hand, some of his undated books may have been printed after 1500, and may have formed the bulk of his consignment. Another point about Mittelhus that is interesting to English bibliographers is that a fount of small black letter, that he used in printing an edition of Cato in 1500, was clearly obtained from a foundry that supplied Richard Pynson with the type used in his edition of *Sulpitius* printed about 1494, the only difference being that in Pynson's fount the letters are slightly larger.

The further examination of the Customs rolls necessitated

by these discoveries also enabled me to correct one of the readings that appeared in my first paper. Amongst the names given on p. 150 was that of ' Julian Nutt '. On a second inspection I found that the name ' Nutt ' was finished off with a flourish carried upwards showing that the letters ' er ' should have been added, and by a very simple transition Julian Nutt[er] becomes Julian Notary. He was then living in St. Clement's parish without Temple Bar, and his consignment received on 19 August 1503 consisted of a hundred and a half reams of paper and one fardell of printed books valued at £14.

If these notes are not very thrilling they at least illustrate how important the English book-trade was considered by some of the leading foreign printers and booksellers.

\* \* \* As this article waits to be printed off, news comes of the death of its author, in his 72nd year, on 20 August. It cannot be passed through the press without a first acknowledgement of the debt which both *The Library* and The Bibliographical Society owe to the researches of Henry Robert Plomer, whose industry and enthusiasm won the respect of all who knew his work. A. W. P.

## A PORE HELPE AND ITS PRINTERS

By M. CHANNING LENTHICUM



HE research student has, indeed, poor help in the controversial religious literature of the reign of Edward VI; for much of it was published anonymously or pseudonymously, without date or printer's name. A discussion of all such literature of the period is too long—and too interesting for condensation—to be given here. This article is concerned with only a brief mention of the Reformers' poetical (?) tracts, and a discussion of the date of the most interesting one—*A pore Helpe*.

When Edward VI came to the throne the Reformation in England had degenerated almost to a personal quarrel, with mutual exchange of 'most innumerable opprobrious words, checkes, tauntes, rebukes, quarrellinges, scoffinges, reuilinges & scoldings, railinges',<sup>1</sup> between Gardiner's adherents and the preachers. Pseudonyms for writers and printers,<sup>2</sup> and surreptitiously printed or smuggled copies had been resorted to

<sup>1</sup> Bale's accusation of Bonner, *A declaration of Edmonde Bonner's articles*, 1554, Basile. The bitterness of the answers had been held in check by Henry VIII. Bucer stated in his *Gratulation of Martin Bucer and Hys awnere unto the two raylinge epistles of Steve Bisshoppe of Winchester* (1549), that King Henry had requested him to 'defer for a season' his answer, because he wished him to speak of 'this and other controuersyes in religyon at some tyme peacable with Winchester . . . to the intent a godlye concorde and unitie in religio might be sought forth'.

<sup>2</sup> Gardiner's use of the name 'Constantius', Huntington's 'Ponce Pantalibus', Turner's 'Wranghton', Bale's 'Harrison'. Hans Luft at Wittenburge, and lande of Hesse, and Hanse hit prick, seem only pseudonyms for printers. Gardiner writes to Paget, 5 November 1545, of great numbers of books in London whose authors cannot be found out, and of Joye's, published under the name of 'Mors', by Tom Trout of Jherico (*Letters and Papers of Henry VIII*, vol. xx, p. 732).

by both parties.<sup>1</sup> Gardiner's spy system<sup>2</sup> at home and abroad had brought some of the Reformers to the stake or to recantation, but younger 'devil's lymmes' took their places until Gardiner feared to think of the state of religion if the King should die before Edward should come of age.<sup>3</sup> His worst fears were realized, and when he began to lose power the reformers hailed his fall in prose and rhyme. 'Players and minstrels rayled on me, and others made ballads and rimes of me', he complained in his answer to the sixth article before the Council, 1550.<sup>4</sup>

Probably owing to the diligence of Gardiner's party which gained power at the accession of Mary few of these rhymes and ballads are extant, but the following eight of the survivors reflect the spirit of the Reformers: *John Bon and Mast Person*,<sup>5</sup> *An Answere to a papystycall exhortacyon*,<sup>6</sup> *Upcheringe*

<sup>1</sup> 'No less myght harrye pepwell in Paules church yerde, have out of Michael Hillenius howse in Anwerpe at one tyme than a whole complete prynce at the holye request of stokslaye. In a short space were they dyspached and a newe prynce in hāde' (*Yet a course at the Romyshe foxe*, 1543, p. 55). Some of the tactics of the Reformers are mentioned later in this article. Their tricks are suggested by Huggard's *Displaying of the Protestantes*, 1556, p. 118: 'Your fine fetches in putting in the names of maister cawode the quenes printer and others to your beggerly libelles as to the imprinter therof every mā nowe espieth.' They probably did not hesitate to use names of impeccable printers in the previous reign.

<sup>2</sup> The efficacy of his foreign spies is well known. His home detectives caught the unwary, as suggested by the case of poor William Tolwyn who 'shoke forth at Paules cross, with feble countenance and more feble stomake . . . serten small bokes contayned in a bagge' (fol. 44, *Yet a Course at the Romyshe foxe*).

<sup>3</sup> *Letters and Papers of Henry VIII*, vol. xx, p. 732.

<sup>4</sup> Fox, *Actes and Monumetes*, edition of 1563, p. 756.

<sup>5</sup> A dialogue against the belief in Transubstantiation. Reprinted in Hazlitt, *Remains of Early Popular Poetry*, vol. 4, p. 1 sq.

<sup>6</sup> Copies in British Museum, Bodleian, and University Cambridge Libraries. Attributed to Bale, with the probable date, 1548. There is no indication of the author of the 'exhortacyon', which is in different type from the 'answere'. It is a mixture of English and Latin, like *A pore helpe*. A few lines will suffice. The

*of the messe,<sup>1</sup> Pathose,<sup>2</sup> A short treatise of certayne thinges*

'papyste' tauntes the 'chrysten' with the writings against him, especially 'a thinge made of late'. The 'Chrysten' responds :

When we fynde ye bolde	For shakynge ther pouche
In your popery olde	And shew wherof they smelle
Therof we do ye tell,	Imitantur illum, qui sunt ex parte illius.
Your poete we touch	

The 'papyste' refers to the 'heretykes' who 'were brent all three by the waye And taken in their owne ginne'. The 'chrysten' responds :

In your popyshe maske	Ye maye se by thyss
The grande captayne aske	What daunger it is
Was trapped in hys turne	Agaynst goddes trewth to spurne.
Durum est tibi contra	

<sup>1</sup> Copies in University Library, Cambridge, and Bodleian. No date or author. Imprinted at Lōdon by John Daye and William Seres. This tract pretends to cheer up 'al the sely soules That hereth messe in paules', and to be written against the Reformers :

This thei speake and spare not	That missa is not founde
And what thei prate thei care not	Within the byble boke.

For loudly do they sounde

A vague allusion, which I cannot explain, for it cannot refer to Philip and Mary, may contain a hint of the date :

No, no they wyll not winck	Ye gesse nere whom I mene
At matters to be sene	Yet it is sayed I wene.
Nor let for king or quene	

<sup>2</sup> University Library, Cambridge. *Pathose, or an inward passion of the pope for the losse of his daughter the Masse*. No date. London, by John Daye and Wylliam Seres. This tract, like *A pore helpe*, is in Skeltonic verse, using scattered Latin phrases. Judging from the following lines (as to the Mass) *Pathose* was written after Gardiner had been committed to the Tower :

They that hir death conspired	I know I have his harte
And hath it much desired	
As fast as time required	But sore I am adred
With faggottes shalbe fired	Some hath not wel sped
O wher is my Gardinerus	Or some of them be dead
And more did and fisherus	Or else to prison led
I fere he do not wel	For were they in prosperitie
Because we heare not tel	I know it for a veritie
How he hath done his parte	Sum what they woulde have proved
	These things to have removed.

abused;<sup>1</sup> *Doetour Doubble Ale*,<sup>2</sup> *What meaneth this gyse? A pore helpe*. Of these, *A short treatise* alone has date, author, and printer; *John Bon* and *Pathose* have the printer's name. *John Bon* has been dated 1547 by Strype, and attributed to 'one Luke a physician'.<sup>3</sup> I have made no attempt to determine the authors of the others. Huntington, who first wrote verse in favour of the Catholics and afterwards became a Reformer,<sup>4</sup> may have used his talents in their behalf. The versatile Crowley and Bale can at least be suspected. Bale would naturally contribute to the rhymes because his dramatic writings had been curtailed by the Catholics, who had prevented the presentation of his plays by allowing only 'robin hode and little Johan, the Parlament of Byrdes and soche other trifles' to be given.<sup>5</sup>

*A pore helpe*, the best example of the rhyming tracts, is of interest to the historian, to the typographist, and to the student of sixteenth-century drama; to the first because it reflects the Reformation, to the second because it involves several printers, to the third because it contains two lines similar to those in the song which Tibet, Annot, and Margerie sing in *Ralph Roister Doister*.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> British Museum. Printed at Ippyswyche, by J. Oswen, 1548.

<sup>2</sup> Bodleian Library. Reprinted Hazlitt, op. cit., vol. 3, pp. 303 sq.

<sup>3</sup> *Ecclesiastical Memorials*, vol. ii, p. 116.

<sup>4</sup> Huntington's *Genealoye of Heresy* is quoted in Bale's *A mysterye of iniqyute*, Emprynted at Geneua By Mychael Woode, 1545. The *Genealoye* is written in Skeltonic verse.

<sup>5</sup> 'i meruel with what face ye call me Turkish in that behalf when as ye yourself forbad the players of london (as it was told me) to play any mo playes of Christe, but of robin hode and little Johan and of the Parlament of byrdes and soche other trifles' (Bale, *An Expostulation or complaynte agaynst the blasphemyes of a frantike papyst of Hamsbyre*, 1551). See also his accusation of Bonner in *A declaration of Edmonde Bonner's articles*, 1554, fol. 41: 'plaies of christes Comedyes hee abhorreth aboue all.'

<sup>6</sup> Act. i, sc. iii: Pipe merri Annot &c.

I will not, I cannot, no more can I

Three copies of *A pore helpe* are known: one in the University Library, Cambridge, and two of one edition in the Bodleian, Oxford—to be referred to in this discussion as the Cambridge and Oxford copies. None of these copies has date, author's nor printer's name, and though they contain the same number of pages, the copies in the two libraries are of two editions. The Oxford copies have six more lines than has the Cambridge copy, and are different in the number of lines to the page,<sup>1</sup> in ornamental capital letter at the beginning, in type, and in title-page.

The tract has been reprinted in Hazlitt's *Remains of the Early Popular Poetry of England*,<sup>2</sup> and in Strype's *Ecclesiastical Memorials*.<sup>3</sup> Hazlitt made a faithful reproduction of the Oxford edition, except for modernizing the spelling. Strype, though supposed to have printed from the edition represented by the Cambridge copy, varies from it. Either there was yet

*A pore helpe* contains the lines :

Sing, pipe merri Annot  
And play of wilnot cannot.

The position of the lines in *A pore helpe* and their loose connexion with the lines that precede or follow would suggest that they were inserted from some well-known song or ballad. Was it of Anne Askewe? Bale writes that the mighty spirit of Christ 'made Anne Askewe both to reioyce and singe in the presen' (*First Examination of Anne Askewe*, Preface, p. 9). *The Ballad whiche Anne Askewe made and sange when she was in Newgate* is a prayer for strength to undergo her ordeal, and an appeal for forgiveness of her enemies. The connexion between *A pore helpe* and *Ralph Roister Doister* was discussed by Professor T. W. Baldwin in *Philological Quarterly*, vol. vi, pp. 379–82. Professor Baldwin suggested the probability of two editions of *A pore helpe*, and requested me to make an investigation.

<sup>1</sup> Oxford copies have 27 lines on pp. 1, 2, 3, 7, 8, 10, 12, but 26 on all other pages. The Cambridge copy has 27 lines on p. 8, but 26 on all other pages; consequently the last lines on nearly all pages are different in the copies of the two libraries. There are slight differences in scattered words which indicate hasty printing of the Cambridge copy.

<sup>2</sup> Vol. iii, pp. 249–66.

<sup>3</sup> Vol. ii, 'Repository of Originals', pp. 34–8. Edition of 1734.

another edition, or he took liberties with the text, altering, for instance, line forty-two from 'To touche there felowes in dede' to 'To touche these fellowes daper', in order to have it rhyme with the preceding line. He probably made the change because of the omission of the two lines following, which appear in Oxford copies, but not in that at Cambridge :

With all expedient spedē

And not before it nede.

When, however, he reached lines 187-92 he did not notice the omission of four lines :

Nor rotten is nor rusty

Nor moth eaten nor musty

Nor light as is a fether

Nor blown about with wether.

True, the rigmarole goes quite as well without them, but the lines so echo phrases that were current in the arguments<sup>1</sup> between Gardiner and the Reformers that he might have suspected their omission. In line 255 he changed 'lagge' to 'tagge'. He also added capital letters and changed the spelling of many words.<sup>2</sup> The Oxford copies seem to be from the older edition ; for in hasty printing the six lines could be omitted, but could hardly be added from the edition of the Cambridge

<sup>1</sup> Compare lines 185-92 of *A pore helpe* with the following from Crowley's *Confutation of a Misshapen answer, &c.*, p. E. 11 : ' . . . what is it filleth the mouses bealye, & burneth in the fire, chaungeth colour, and putrifith ?' Also *Detection of the Devil's Sophistrie*, in which Gardiner rehearses some of the arguments against which he is writing : ' Do we not se (saith the deuyll) the sacrament of th auter that they call god theyr ydol, (o blasphemous tōgue) sometyme eaten of a mouse, sometyme waxe grene mouldē, redde mouldē, and blue, . . .' (fol. ix). Because of the English custom of keeping the Sacrament in a box hung by a string over the altar, such names as ' Jack in the box ', ' Round robin ', ' Sacrament of the haltar ' were given to it by the vulgar.

<sup>2</sup> A comparison of the lines beginning with, ' But harke ye loulars harke ', taken from the Cambridge copy, with Strype's version will show the nature of his changes. The last word in line 313 appears as ' druggarde ' in the Oxford copies, but ' drunkarde ' in the Cambridge.

copy. That they were omitted by mistake is indicated by the line, 'To touche these felowes in dede', standing alone without following rhyming lines.

The initial capital W of the Oxford copies seems to have been roughly fashioned, or the ornamental part rudely cut away, leaving the letter irregular.<sup>1</sup> My search among letters of many printers, foreign and English, has revealed only one like it, that in Richard Wyer's edition of *The reckeninge and declaracion of the fayth and belefe of Huldrike Zwyngly*.<sup>2</sup> The type of this edition of *A pore helpe*, which has an unusual form for the smaller capital W used throughout the tract, seems to be the same as that of Richard Wyer in *Debate between Heraldes*, 1550; Turner's undated *A newe Dialogue*; John Wyer's edition of Bale's *Image of both Churches*, 1550; Robert Wyer's edition of *The declaracyon and power of the chrysten fayth*, 1530; . . . *the difference of astronomy*, 1535?; Goodale's *The Lyberties of the Cleargy*, 1540?; Bacon's . . . *waters Artyficialles*, 1530; Hoggard's *A newe Treatyse*, 1550?; . . . *the Assyse of breade*, 1530?; and in Colwell's *The spectacle to Repentance*, 1571, and several undated ballads. Colwell succeeded Robert Wyer and used his type. A comparison of the measurement of twenty lines of type of *A pore helpe* and of the above Wyer publications shows them to be exact, or to vary in three cases by only a millemeter. It is not surprising that Robert Wyer would print for both Catholic and Reformers' parties, since Bale complains that he and Redman 'care not what they do for money'.<sup>3</sup>

The initial capital of the Cambridge copy of *A pore helpe* is found also in *Pathose, Upcheringe of the messe*, and the *Apocripa*, 1549, printed by Day and Seres; and in Marcourt's *A declaration of the Masse*,<sup>4</sup> printed by the so-called 'Hans Lufte at

<sup>1</sup> Plate I.

<sup>2</sup> Imprinted at Zuryk in March Anno Do. MDLVIII.

<sup>3</sup> *A mysterie of iniquitie*, 1543.

<sup>4</sup> Plate I. The letter occurs at the beginning of five chapters of the *Apocripa*.

Wittenburge', who is, seemingly, John Day.<sup>1</sup> Judging from the type, then, the edition of *A pore helpe* represented by the Oxford copies was printed by one of the Wyers; that of the Cambridge copy by Day and Seres. Other evidence supports this inference.

The title-pages of the tract involve several printers. The compartment or border of each edition seem to have had more than one owner. The border of the Oxford copies<sup>2</sup> was used by Hillenius at Antwerp in Barlondo's *Iocorum veterum ac recentiorum tres . . . , 1529*, where it appears in a clear state, being blurred, however, and worn in *A pore helpe*, Brightwell's *A pistle to the Christen Reader*, Erasmus' (?) *An Exhortation to the Diligent studie of the Scripture*, and in the ballad *A Neue Well a day, As playne maister Papist, as Donstable Daye*, printed by Colwell, which has the left central section of the compartment. *A pistle* and *An Exhortation* were printed by 'hans luft in the lande of Hesse', 1529.<sup>3</sup> Since the Wyers had the type and Robert Wyer's successor, Colwell, used at least a part of the border, the printer of this edition of *A pore helpe* was probably not a foreigner, as has been generally supposed. After Edward's Proclamation of December 1547 there was some show of apprehending printers who printed books jesting against the Sacrament. Day was called before the mayor for printing *John Bon and Maist Person*,<sup>4</sup> but after the order for the removal of images from the churches and the abolition of the Mass,

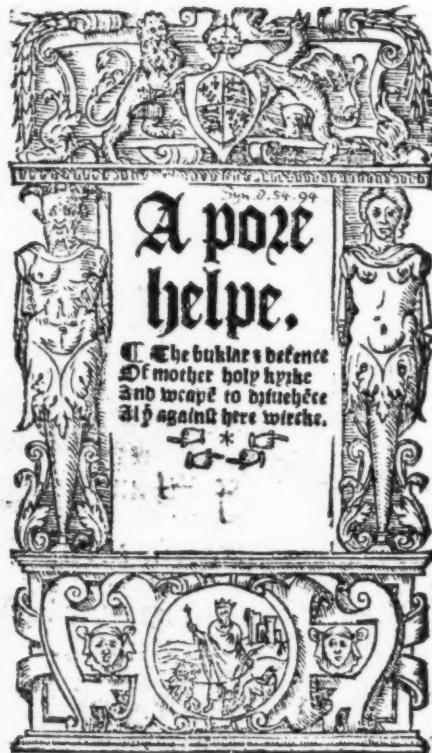
<sup>1</sup> *A Short-Title Catalogue of English Printed Books.*

<sup>2</sup> Plate II.

<sup>3</sup> Mr. Gordon Duff, in *A Short Account of Tindale's 'Pentateuch'*, pp. 18-19, states that Hans Luft could hardly have been printing at Wittenberg and Marburg at the same time, and the Reformers' choice of the latter as a supposed place of printing was made on account of the known friendliness of Philip, the Landgrave of Hesse-Cassel, toward the Reformation, in the expectation that the English authorities would make no effort to suppress printing done under his protection. [For the real printer see p. 154 sqq. of this number.—ED.] The border of *A pore helpe* omits the ornamental squares at the foot of the figures right and left, and the Greek *χάριτες* between the second and third muse at the bottom.

<sup>4</sup> Strype, op. cit., vol. ii, p. 116.







ix



'heresy then reigning', printers seem to have had less fear of detection.

The compartment of the title-page of the Cambridge copy<sup>1</sup> was evidently the property of Day and Seres. It was used in the following books published by them :

Thomas Lever, *A Sermon preached the thyrd Sonday in Lent before the Kynges Maistrie and his honorable counsell, Anno Domini M CCCCCL.*

Thomas Lever, *A fruitfull Sermon made in Poules churche at London in the shroudes the seconde daye of February Anno MD C<sup>o</sup> fiftie.*

Hugh Latimer, *A notable Sermō of y<sup>e</sup> reverende father Maister Hughe Latimer, whiche he preached in y<sup>e</sup> Shroude at paules churche in Londō on the xviii daye of Januarie 1548.*

Hugh Latimer, *The seconde Sermon of Master Hughe Latemer, whych he preached before the Kynges maiestie w<sup>i</sup>n bys graces Palayce at Westminster y<sup>e</sup> xv day of Marche M.CCCCCLIX.*

John Calvin, *A short instruction for to arme all good Christian people agaynst the pestiferous errors of the common sect of anti-baptists, 1549.*

Anonymous, *Upcheringe of the messe.*

Anonymous, *Pathose, or an inward passion of the pope for the losse of bys daughter the masse.*

Day retained the compartment at the conclusion of his partnership, or work with Seres, for he used it in :

Lever, *A Sermon preached y<sup>e</sup> fourth Sudaye in Lente before the Kynges Maistrie and his honorable Council Anno Domini M.CCCCCL.<sup>2</sup>*

Lever, *A Meditation vpon the Lordes Prayer made . . . at Saynte Mary Wolchurche in London Anno MDLI.*

Latimer, *A Sermon of Master Latimer preached at Stamford the ix day of October Anno M.CCCCC. and fyftie.*

<sup>1</sup> Plate II.

<sup>2</sup> Copies in the British Museum and Bodleian Libraries.

Lever's *Meditation* seems to have been Day's last use of the compartment. It does not appear in any of his other publications, nor in those of any other printer after this date. It was used by William Copland in his edition of Tyndale's *The obedience of a Christen man*,<sup>1</sup> and the anonymous *The Epistles & Gospels, of every Sondaye, and holy daye throwut the hole yeare, after the Churche of England*.<sup>2</sup> The compartment could not have passed to Copland in 1550 since it was used in two of the Day-Seres publications of 1550, two of Day's of 1550, and one of Day's of 1551. When Day was committed to the Tower, 1554, for 'pryntyng nothy bokes',<sup>3</sup> all of his compartments probably passed into other hands. A second one was used by Copland in Tyndale's *The Obedience of a Christen Man*, *The Parable of the Wicked Mammon*, and Bradford's *The Hurte of Hearinge Masse*, all printed in 1561.<sup>4</sup> A third compartment which appears in many of the Day-Seres publications<sup>5</sup> was used by Wayland in *Treasure of pore men*, 1556.

<sup>1</sup> Dated 1550? by *A Short Title Catalogue*.

<sup>2</sup> Imprinted at London in the Fletestrete at the signe of the Rose Garland by me Wyllam Copland Anno M.D.L. the xviii daye of May.

<sup>3</sup> Machyn's *Diary*, Camden Society Publications, vol. 42, p. 72.

<sup>4</sup> This is a four-section scroll compartment, having a poppy at the top. It was used by Day-Seres in Becon, *Castile of Comfort; Bible*; Crowley, *Confutation of Misshapen Answer, &c.*; Erasmus, *Twelve Steps of Abuse*; and by Day in Bale's *An Expostulation or Complaint, &c.* A similar compartment was used at Zurich for the anonymous *Our Savior Jesus Christ*, 1543, but the sides are reversed and the design on the right is slightly different.

<sup>5</sup> In thirteen of Day-Seres or Day publications, the last of which is thought to date 1551. The Cambridge copy of *The fyriste Sermon of Mayster Hughe Latimer, whiche he preached before the Kynges Maiest wythin his graces Palaye at Westmynster M.D.LIX.* the viii of March shows what appears to be a break in the left side of this compartment, but it does not appear in Wayland's *Treasure*. The compartment has a coat of arms at the top, two curtlasses, points upward; terminusses of Mars and Venus on the sides, bas-relief of Judith with Holofernes' head at bottom. Wayland was a loyal Catholic. In 1553 he was given a patent for sole printing of primers and manuals of prayer and all such books as he should first print, for seven years. He is said to have persecuted his servant for having

The physical state of this compartment of *A pore helpe* is of little aid in determining the date. Cracks may widen under certain conditions, or insufficient inking on parts may give impressions which are misleading, but some facts concerning it seem clear. The face and crown of the young King shown in the bas-relief at the bottom were in a bad condition as early as 1548, which is the earliest dated use of it. A line, seeming to be a crack in the wood, at that time reached to the left eye, which member was not alined with the one on the right. The crack spread to the crown within the next two years. By 1551 the crown was in bad shape. *A pore helpe* indicates the 1548-9 condition of the compartment, the Copland publications the 1550 state.

The date of *A pore helpe* was placed by Strype as 'somewhat before this year', i.e. 1547,<sup>1</sup> a date questioned in *A Short-Title Catalogue*. Internal evidence shows Strype's dating to be incorrect. The following lines indicate the years 1548-53:

But harke ye loulars harke  
So wel we shal you marcke  
That if the worlde shall turne  
A sort of you shal burne  
Ye durst as wel I saye  
Wythin this tow [sic] yeres day  
As sone to rune a waye  
As such partes to playe  
When sume dyd rule and reygne  
And auncient thinges maintayne  
Which nowe be counted vaine  
And brought into disdayne  
Suche men I saye they were  
As loved not thys geare  
And kept you styl in fere  
To burne or faggottes bere

in his possession a book named *Antichrist* (Duff, *Century of English Book Trade*, p. 168).  
<sup>1</sup> *Ecclesiastical Memorials*, vol. ii, p. 55.

Then durste ye not be blode [sic]  
 Against our lernings olde  
 Or images of golde  
 Which nowe be bought and solde.

The lines beginning 'Wythin this tow yeres day' suggest the time when Gardiner and his party were in power, and heretics were burned,<sup>1</sup> and possibly have reference to the Smithfield 'martyrs'. On 11 February 1548 images were ordered to be removed from the churches and 'utterly extincted and destroyed'. They were then objects of bargaining, i.e. 'bought and sold'. Dugdale records that even beautiful brass portraiture were torn from their marble slabs 'in sundry churches in this Realm' and sold to coppersmiths and tinkers.<sup>2</sup>

Bishop Gardiner, Germain 'his man' who was hanged 1544, and Myles Huggard are mentioned by name in *A pore helpe*. Gardiner is ridiculed as being a 'pardoner, vitayler, hospitaler, teacher, preacher'.<sup>3</sup> The author, who pretends to write in favour of Gardiner, warns the Reformers that

If he might wel sped  
 And beare some rule agayne  
 It should be to theyr pain.

<sup>1</sup> Although the Statutes 'De heretico comburendo' had been repealed, the people found in 1551, when one George van Pare was burned, that the Statutes were only passed to make conviction easier, and repealing the Statutes, 1547, did not take away that which was grounded on the Writ at Common Law (Burnet, *History of Reformation*, Part II, p. 1121).

<sup>2</sup> *History of St. Paul's Cathedral*, p. 45. This vandalism occurred also during Elizabeth's reign.

<sup>3</sup> Compare Turner, *The rescuyinge of the Romishe fox*, printed at Winchester by 'Hans hit prick', 1546: 'Ye will teach Cambridge men to pronounce Greke / 'brewers to make bere / taylors to make garments / cookes to dress mete / in 'bruges ye disuade men from the doctrine of the Germanes / sum tyme ye play 'the knight of the garter / sum tyme the examiner / and sum tyme the judge and 'accuser both together / sumtyme the purveyour / sumtyme the preacher, and 'other whyle the *Sacrificier in summa* althing savyng the good divine which is 'moste required in a bishop.'

Gardiner was committed to the Fleet September 1547: released in December of that year, but placed in the Tower 31 July 1548, where he remained until Mary's reign. His power had really been broken late in 1546, and though he returned to his diocese after his release from the Fleet, he did not 'bear rule agayne' until 1553. These lines must refer to the 1548-53 period, when he was recognized as being definitely out of rule.<sup>1</sup>

Myles Huggard wrote most of his anti-Reformation tracts in verse, and published, or in the case of some, republished, them in 1554.<sup>2</sup> By 1548 he had, however, either published or allowed to be circulated in manuscript at least two of his works: *De profundis*,<sup>3</sup> a metrical version of the Psalms, and *Abuse of the*

<sup>1</sup> I am unable to explain a reference in *A pore helpe* to Gardiner's writing against the Reformers in verse. His only metrical attempts which I have been able to find are his 'Exercitationes', and a single short poem in Egerton MS. 2642, fol. 241, neither of which answers the description. I cannot identify the 'sweet Sir Harry, knight of the sepulchre', mentioned later in the tract. He is mentioned also in Bale's *A declaration of Edmonde Bonner's Articles*.

<sup>2</sup> Several of his works, including *A treatise declaring how Crist by perverse preaching was banished out of this realm: and how it hath pleas'd God to bring Crist home againe by Queene Mary*, are in a single volume of which a copy is in the Library of Exeter College, Oxford. In this volume also is his *The assault of the sacrament of the Altar containyng as well sixe severall assaults made from tyme to tyme against the sayd blessed sacrament: as also the names & opinions of all the heretical captaines of the same assaults*, which recounts a vision in which Huggard saw a series of assaults against 'Lady Faieth' made by fifty-two of the chief Reformers whom he names. They were armed with bows and arrows with heads of 'error feathered with scripture falsely understood'. Captain Mary repulsed the attacks and freed the imprisoned. This part was probably added in 1554, though the rest of the poem, as Huggard states, was written in 1549. This poem is not the same as his *Abuse of the sacrament of the altare*, 1548, written in answer to a ballad. I am indebted to the Librarian of Exeter College, who while on a holiday came several miles to the college in order to get the volume and deposit it in the Bodleian for my use.

<sup>3</sup> See Crowley's *Confutation of the Misshapen Answer*, 1548: 'In the meantime I shall desyre you to call to your remembraunce your *De profundis*.' Hazlitt's *Handbook* does not mention this earlier edition.

*blessed sacramēt of ye altare*, the latter an answer to an anonymous ballad written against belief in Transubstantiation. The ballad begins : 'What meaneth this gyse, I would faine heare.' The ballad could not have been written earlier than 1547, for it prays:

Lord graūt that our head, king Edward y<sup>e</sup> Sixt  
May bury that dead God which is pixte  
And get in his stead, thy supper not mixt  
With abuse popishe.

Huggard's answer to the ballad, which states that the latter had 'of late' come to his hand, evidently was written 1547-8. It must have been written after 27 December 1547, for Crowley's *Confutation*<sup>1</sup> of it refers to Huggard's being called before the Council for giving the Sacrament other names than those found in the Scripture, an action forbidden by Edward's Proclamation of that date.<sup>2</sup> Although the Proclamation does not mention the date of its effectiveness, the law which it proclaimed states that offenders after the 'first of Maye next'<sup>3</sup> shall be punished, and Crowley reports Huggard as saying, 'Before Maye daye, they can take no vantage at anything I have written.' Huggard's answer to the ballad, then, must have been written between 27 December 1547 and 1 May 1548. *A pore helpe* refers to this answer :

And also mayster Huggarde  
Doth shew himself no sluggarde  
Nor yet no drunken druggarde

<sup>1</sup> *The confutation of the misshapen answer to the misnamed wicked Ballade, called the Abuse of y<sup>e</sup> blessed sacramēt of the altare wherin thou haste* (gentile reader) *the right understandynges of al the places of scripture that Myles Hoggarde (wyth his learned counsaill) hath wrested to make for the transsubstancion of bread and wyne.* The ballad and Huggard's answer are both quoted in Crowley's *Confutation*. The 'learned counsaill' alluded to is Gardiner. *The Dictionary of National Biography* erroneously refers to the ballad as Huggard's.

<sup>2</sup> Strype, op. cit., 'Repository', p. 41.

<sup>3</sup> *Tudor Proclamations Facsimiles*, or Burnet, *History of the Reformation*, Part II, p. 41.

But sharperth up his wyt  
And frameth it to fit  
These yonkers for to hyt  
And wil not them permit  
In error styl to sit<sup>1</sup>  
As it may wel appere  
By his clerkly answere  
The which intitled is  
Agaynst what meaneth this.

*A pore helpe*, therefore, could not have been written before 1548. To summarize : the physical condition of the compartment used in the edition represented by the Cambridge copy indicates a date 1548-9 ; the allusion to Huggard's *Abuse of ye blessed sacramēt* shows that it was not written before 1548, probably after May ; the references to Gardiner suggest a date later than July of that year. Considering all the evidence, the tract was probably written late in 1548, printed first by Robert or Richard Wyer, and then by Day and Seres.

The question then arises as to the date of *Roister Doister*. Do the lines of *A pore helpe* echo those of the play, or vice versa ; or do both the play and the tract echo a refrain from some well-known song? Any of these answers is possible : the first seems the most probable. If Udall, who became Gardiner's 'schoolmaster' in 1553, was even a few years before in sympathy with him, the author of *A pore helpe*, who only pretends to be writing in favour of the Gardiner party and really mocks them throughout the piece, would naturally include Udall in the mockery by echoing lines from his play. If this interpretation is correct, some version of *Roister Doister* existed by 1549.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Probably mocking Huggard's sentence : 'For that in error will thee bring' (Preface to the reader, *Confutation*).

<sup>2</sup> Material for this article was obtained during the writer's tenure of A.A.U.W. European Fellowship, 1927-8.

## LATER EDITIONS OF QUARLES'S ENCHIRIDION

By W. L. USTICK



If we are to credit Horace Walpole, one of the most popular writers of the mid-seventeenth century was Francis Quarles, best known for his *Emblems* and his *Enchiridion*. 'Milton was forced to wait till the world had done admiring Quarles,' says Walpole, picturesquely if extravagantly.<sup>1</sup> At all events, there can be no doubt Quarles was widely read in his century. The *Dictionary of National Biography* lists editions of *Enchiridion* of 1640 (three 'centuries' of maxims), 1641 (four 'centuries'), 1654, 1670, and 1681, together with a Swedish translation of 1656 [error for 1696? See the copy of a Swedish translation in the British Museum]. The British Museum has (besides the copies of 1640, 1641, and 1681 noted above) copies of 1646, 1677 (12th impression), 1680 (13th impression), and 1702. There were obviously other editions as well, in the middle of the century, as '12th impression' indicates. One appeared in 1658, from which the London reprint of 1822 was taken; and there were editions of 1682<sup>2</sup> and 1692.<sup>3</sup>

What has not, however, so far as I am aware, been noted, is that during the last decade of the seventeenth century the book was at least three times republished, but not as the work of Quarles. So far as I can piece together the history of these publications, Samuel Briscoe published in 1695 the anonymous *Institutions, Essays and Maxims, Political, Moral & Divine. Divided into Four Centuries*<sup>4</sup>—a reprint of Quarles's *Enchiri-*

<sup>1</sup> Quoted in *D.N.B.*, *sub Quarles, Francis*.

<sup>2</sup> See Arber's *Term Catalogues*, i. 479.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, ii. 432.

<sup>4</sup> Catalogued in the British Museum under *Institutions*.

dion, save that Maxim I of Century I is placed at the end of Century I, and the other ninety-nine maxims are accordingly stepped up one place each. The volume has at the end two pages containing advertisements of books published and sold by Briscoe, and seems therefore to have originated, in this form, with him. In 1698 appeared the very same volume, like that of 1695 in every respect, save that there is a new title-page, viz. *Wisdom's better than Money: or, the Whole Art of Knowledge, and the Art to know Men. In Four Hundred Sententious Essays, Political and Moral. Written by a late Person of Quality; and left as a Legacy to his Son.*<sup>1</sup> The publishers are W. Chandeler and Tho. Scott; but Briscoe's advertisement of books published and sold by him remains at the end of the volume as in that of 1695.

But the climax is reached in the third spurious edition of *Enchiridion* in this decade, which in 1698 appeared (again the same volume as that issued by Briscoe in 1695, with his advertisement of books at the end) as *Institutions, Essays, and Maxims, Political, Moral, and Divine; Divided into Four Centuries, by the Right Honourable L. Marqu[is] of H[alifax?].*<sup>2</sup> Josias Shaw was responsible for this volume (or more accurately, for the title-page of it); and it is nothing short of amazing to find a work, well known as that of one of the most popular writers of the preceding generation—a book which so late as 1692 had been published under its proper title, and with the name of the real author on the title-page<sup>3</sup>—ascribed (apparently) to Lord Halifax. The 'late Person of Quality' has suddenly and unaccountably burgeoned into the man who to his times was 'the Trimmer'! A better example of the unscrupulous methods of the seventeenth-century bookseller

<sup>1</sup> Catalogued in the British Museum under *Wisdom*.

<sup>2</sup> The title-page of the copy in the British Museum is defaced; but there seems little doubt that Halifax was meant.

<sup>3</sup> See *Term Catalogues*, ii. 432.

186 *Later Editions of Quarles's 'Enchiridion'*

could scarcely be required. Tho. Helder, according to the *Term Catalogues*, seems to have had the rights to publish *Enchiridion* during the 1670's and 1680's—indeed, so late as 1692. What recourse he had against Sam. Briscoe and Josias Shaw, and against Chandeler and Scott, I leave to students more conversant with the seventeenth-century book-trade.

## 'GULLIVER'S TRAVELS': FURTHER NOTES

BY HAROLD WILLIAMS



N November 1925 I read a paper to the Bibliographical Society on the sequence and relationship to each other of the editions of *Gulliver's Travels* published by Benjamin Motte.<sup>1</sup> The bibliographical problems attaching to these editions form a single story, and can be considered without wider reference to the work of other publishers. The questions which present themselves for solution arise from two facts. The book was unexpectedly successful, and Motte was called upon to reprint more often and more rapidly than he anticipated. In the second place he tampered with Swift's manuscript; and in one edition, the octavo of 1727, he introduced, prompted by Charles Ford, Swift's friend, some corrections, for the most part, however, of a slight character, which did not touch the main ground of complaint.

So far the textual and bibliographical story of the Motte editions is contained within itself.

In my introduction to the bicentenary edition of *Gulliver's Travels*, published in 1926 by the First Edition Club, I continued the history of the book, bibliographical and textual, with an account of the editions issued by Faulkner, the Dublin printer, between 1735 and 1772, and the rival Bathurst editions, published in London between 1742 and 1784. Other early editions printed within these periods in London, Dublin, Edinburgh, or Glasgow, have little textual or bibliographical interest. The demand for Swift's work in Dublin seems, however, to have been greater than has hitherto been suspected. Copies of Motte's editions would certainly be imported: one

<sup>1</sup> *The Library*, vi. 228-62.

Dublin piracy was issued in 1726, and two distinct editions by other publishers in 1727.

I am now able to add some notes with respect to Dublin and London early editions.

(1) As I could find no copy to examine in this country, I was dependent for my description and collation of Hyde's Dublin piracy of 1726 upon information kindly furnished me by the librarian of the University of Michigan. The copy preserved there is, however, without a portrait, and there was a doubt whether this duodecimo volume ever contained one. I have since learned from Mr. M. J. Ryan, who then had a copy in his possession, that the Hyde edition should contain a portrait copied from and reduced in size from the Sheppard portrait, as it appears in its second state in the Motte editions. The height of the plate from the top frame rule to the lower frame rule is precisely  $5\frac{1}{2}$  inches. The inscription runs round the oval, and below appear the lines from Persius.

(2) In the following year Dublin booksellers published two further editions of *Gulliver's Travels*. The imprint on the title-pages of both contains the names of 'G. RISK, G. EWING, and W. SMITH', but they are distinct editions. In 1926 I noted *one* of these editions only. There is a copy in the British Museum, and I have a second. Professor H. C. Hutchins, in reviewing my edition of *Gulliver*,<sup>1</sup> kindly drew my attention to the other edition published by the same booksellers. The only copy hitherto traced is in the Yale University Library; and I am indebted to Miss A. S. Pratt for photographs and additional particulars. Which was the earlier of the two editions I am unable to say. It is unlikely that one was set from the other. Each seems to have been set up from a copy of Motte's first edition. For convenience of distinction I will call the copy which lies on the table before me W and the other Y.

W is an octavo in half-sheets. There is a general title-page

<sup>1</sup> *The Review of English Studies*, iii. 466-73.

to the volume, a general title-page to Parts III and IV, and separate title-pages to Parts I, II, and IV. This follows the scheme of the Motte editions. Each Part is signed and paged as a separate unit. The collation runs: Part I: A-I 4, K 2, pp. [viii] 68; Part II: [A] 2, B 2, C-L 4, pp. [iv], 75; Part III: [A] 2, B-L 4, pp. [iv], 79; Part IV: [A] 3, B-M 4, pp. [vi], 88. There are, as in the Motte editions, seven plates—a portrait of Gulliver copied from the second state of the Sheppard engraving,<sup>1</sup> four maps, a plan to illustrate the movement of the flying island, and a diagram of the word machine. These were clearly engraved for the edition in which they were placed. No textual revision is attempted. Towards the end of the last chapter of Part I the inaccurate 'Lilliput' has been corrected to 'Blefuscu' (p. 67, line 37); but Ford's corrections, embodied in Motte's 1727 octavo edition, are not adopted.<sup>2</sup>

Y is a duodecimo in half-sheets. There may have been a general title-page to the whole work, for in the Yale copy A 1 is missing. There is a title-page to Parts I and II,<sup>3</sup> and another to 'VOL. II.' so-called, covering Parts III and IV. Whereas the imprint of W reads 'Printed for G. RISK, G. EWING, and W. SMITH', that of Y runs 'Printed by S.P. for G. RISK, G. EWING, and W. SMITH'. The book, despite 'VOL. II.' on the second title-page, is signed and paged continuously as a single work. The collation runs: A 6, b 2, B-Z 6, Aa 6, Bb 4, pp. [xiv], 283. The verso of the last leaf contains book advertisements, including one of '*Gulliver's Travels, 2 Vol.*' An engraved portrait of Swift by

<sup>1</sup> Not the same plate as that used in the Hyde piracy.

<sup>2</sup> In the British Museum copy, in Part I, p. 51 is misnumbered 52, p. 63 is misnumbered 65, and p. 64 is misnumbered 66. In my copy these errors are corrected.

<sup>3</sup> The words 'VOL. I.' on the Yale title-page of the first volume are not printed, but carefully worked in ink on an inlay between the rules. Probably the printed letters were erased in removing a former owner's name.

T. Cook, of later date, is mounted in the Yale copy to face the title-page. There are two maps taken from a Motte edition, cut close to the rule-border, mounted, folded, and inserted between b 2 and B 1, and G 2 and G 3. This edition is less pretentious than W, for it appears to have been issued without plates; but the type, setting, head- and tail-pieces suggest that both W and Y were printed by Powell. The correction of 'Lilliput' to 'Blefuscu', noted above, also appears in this volume. The common error of the Motte editions, followed by W, in numbering the seventh chapter of Part III as 'CHAP. V.', is corrected in Y. Another correction, conjecturally made by the Y type-setter, is of interest. In the tenth chapter of Part III, which describes the Struldbriggs, W (p. 73) follows the Motte editions in printing, 'They are deprived and hated by all Sort of People'. 'Deprived' was corrected in Motte's 1727 octavo to 'despised'. The compositor of Y (p. 196) set up 'derided'.<sup>1</sup>

(3) Whether in England or Ireland the demand for *Gulliver's Travels* seems to have been satisfied by the editions of 1726 and 1727. The next move was Faulkner's revised and independent text of 1735, behind which, there can be no doubt, Swift himself is to be discovered. Between 1735 and 1772 Faulkner published six editions, at least, and several reissues of *Gulliver's Travels* in either octavo or duodecimo size. In his sets of Swift's *Works* it constituted the third volume. In the 1759 edition, in deference to Hawkesworth's foolish animadversions of 1755, Faulkner reverted in several instances to Motte readings, or adopted new readings. A reissue, in 1763, of earlier sheets shows, however, that his concession to Hawkesworth was not deeply seated, and that he had no scruple in economizing when making up sets of the *Works*. In the longer runs issued by Faulkner no two sets are likely to correspond exactly. In

<sup>1</sup> In the Hyde Dublin edition of 1726, curiously enough, the correct 'despised' appears.

1735 four volumes sufficed; in 1738 the set has grown to six; in 1746 to eight; and by 1772 it has stretched to twenty. Dates, editions, and issues are irregularly combined; and the longer sets, as found, are made up very much at haphazard. A title-page should not be trusted. It may cover a reissue of earlier sheets. Although in 1759 Faulkner made some changes in the text of his edition of *Gulliver's Travels*, a copy with a title-page of later date may, as likely as not, contain his earlier and better text. Collation alone will prove.

(4) In 1742 Charles Bathurst, Motte's successor, began his long series of *Gulliver* editions. The first of these, a small octavo, with title in red and black, was called 'The FOURTH EDITION, Corrected'. Although Motte had published four octavo editions and two issues of a duodecimo edition, his title-pages never went further than 'The SECOND EDITION, Corrected'. The eccentricities of eighteenth-century title-pages are well-known; but 'FOURTH' probably had some meaning for Bathurst. Did he count Motte's duodecimo, Faulkner's edition, or possibly even a lost Motte edition, as the third? As he largely adopted Faulkner's text, although without acknowledgement, he may have counted the Irish edition as a third.

Bathurst's small single volume edition lacks, for no clear reason, 'The Publisher to the Reader', which appeared in the Motte editions, and also 'A Letter from Capt. Gulliver to his Cousin Sympson', printed for the first time by Faulkner. It has no portrait, no separate title-pages, but contains the four maps and two plans. In 1747 Bathurst published a 'FIFTH EDITION, Corrected' of similar size, appearance, and character, but collating differently; in 1751 a 'FIFTH EDITION, Corrected' and a 'SIXTH EDITION, Corrected', trade ventures, which collate as the 1747 edition, but are reset. In 1751, again, he published a two-volume duodecimo edition as part of the *Works* in fourteen volumes; and in 1755

his edition in quarto and octavo, supervised by Hawkesworth, as a definitive text in opposition to Faulkner's editions.<sup>1</sup>

Motte and Bathurst could not regard Faulkner's Irish editions with complacency ; but from the first Bathurst had the good sense to recognize the superiority of Faulkner's revised text, which embodied not only the corrections of small errors noted by Ford, and the longer amendments made by Ford in an interleaved copy, but also new readings and corrections now introduced for the first time. Faulkner's text, thus established, is largely followed by Bathurst, the correspondence being more complete in Parts III and IV than in Parts I and II. Evidently he grew more exact and diligent in collation as he proceeded with the task.

The 1742, 1747, 1751 editions are set to a pattern by Bathurst. But he interrupted the series with a distinct edition in different format, with which I have only recently met. It is not noted in my bibliography, nor by Dr. Hubbard, and no copy seems to be preserved in the larger libraries and collections. This edition exhibits several interesting characteristics. It is a duodecimo in two volumes. Its general setting and appearance seem to have been suggested by Motte's duodecimo edition. Each volume has a title-page ; but there are no sub-titles to the Parts. The two titles read :

TRAVELS / INTO SEVERAL / Remote Nations / OF  
THE / WORLD. / [rule] / IN FOUR PARTS. / [rule] / By  
LEMUEL GULLIVER, / first a SURGEON, and then a  
CAPTAIN / of several SHIPS. / [rule] / VOL. I. / [rule] /  
LONDON : / Printed for CHARLES BATHURST, at the /  
*Cross Keys in Fleet-street.* / M,DCC,XLVIII.

TRAVELS / INTO SEVERAL / Remote Nations / OF  
THE / WORLD. / [rule] / By LEMUEL GULLIVER, / First  
a SURGEON, and then a CAPTAIN of / several SHIPS. /

<sup>1</sup> For full collations of the Bathurst editions see my edition of *Gulliver's Travels*, pp. xcix-cii.

[rule] / VOL. II. / [double rule] / LONDON : / Printed for  
CHARLES BATHURST, at the / *Cross-Keys*, in Fleet-Street. /  
MDCCXLVIII.

The collation runs—vol. i: A 6, B–M 12, pp. xii, 264; vol. ii: A 6, B–N 12, pp. xii, 283, [5]. In vol. i ‘The Contents’ of Lilliput occupy three of the preliminary pages, but ‘The Contents’ of Brobdingnag are not included in the volume, and were evidently overlooked. In vol. ii ‘The Contents’ of Parts II and IV occupy nine of the preliminary pages. The last five pages of vol. ii contain advertisements of ‘BOOKS printed for CHARLES BATHURST’. In vol. ii p. 264 is misnumbered 464, H 4 is signed I 4, and M 5 is signed L 5. In the same volume the running title ‘A VOYAGE / to LAPUTA, &c.’ is inadvertently carried to the end of sheet G, covering several pages of the Voyage to the Houyhnhnms.

If the two volumes of 1748 were set from a copy of Motte’s 1727 duodecimo edition corrections by hand must have been made in the printer’s copy—chiefly in the first volume. That Motte’s duodecimo was the standard cannot be doubted. The two editions are set to the same measure, although Motte’s type-page, with thirty-two lines in vol. i and thirty-one lines in vol. ii, is ten or eleven millimetres higher than Bathurst’s edition with twenty-nine lines in either volume. In both the Motte and Bathurst editions the text of Brobdingnag in vol. i begins on p. 129, and the text of the Houyhnhnms in vol. ii on p. 125, although the setting throughout the editions differs widely, and Lilliput and Laputa do not end on corresponding pages. Bathurst, however, rectifies his beginnings by omitting preliminary matter to the Parts from the middle of his volumes. Unlike Motte he does not include any maps or diagrams in his edition, but he uses again the four illustrative plates originally engraved for Motte’s duodecimo edition. Their last appearance was in Motte’s reissue of 1731. The plates are in good condition, a little touched up.

The two volumes of 1748 were probably set by different printers. The founts of type used are not the same. The difference is most apparent to the eye in the italics used for the Contents at the head of each chapter. In vol. ii these are decidedly larger. A noticeable difference in practice is that whereas in vol. i the sixth leaf is always unsigned, in vol. ii, from D to N, the sixth leaf of a gathering is always signed.<sup>1</sup> A point of greater interest and moment is the sharp and definite textual contrast between the two volumes. Vol. i prints the normal revised text adopted by Bathurst in 1742; vol. ii is set from an unrevised Motte text, ignoring even the Ford corrections introduced into Motte's 1727 octavo edition. The few alterations which bring the text of vol. ii occasionally into line with Ford's amendments are literal, or matters of common sense, and might be made by any compositor. One independent correction deserves notice. It probably represents what Swift wrote. In Motte's first and subsequent editions, at the beginning of the fifth chapter of Part IV, Gulliver refers to the 'material Points, of which were discoursed at several times' between himself and his Houyhnhnm master. Ford omitted the 'of', and the reading 'which were discoursed' was adopted by Motte in 1727, and later by Faulkner, Bathurst, and generally by editors ever since. The 1748 edition prints 'of which we discoursed'. This is surely the simplest and most natural correction?

Although the newly discovered Bathurst edition is not of singular importance, it is interesting, and raises several problems. Bathurst's single volume editions of 1742, 1747, 1751 are not uncommon books. Why did he make so curious a departure in 1748, and why is this edition of extreme rarity? Was vol. i set up from a copy of Bathurst's 1742 or 1747 edition, as the text suggests? The form of the book and the fact that Part II

<sup>1</sup> This difference in practice was not suggested to the compositor by Motte's 12mo edition.

is so carefully made to begin on p. 129 make this unlikely. Was it then set from a Motte edition corrected by hand? If so, why this unnecessary trouble? And if Parts I and II print a revised text, why was vol. ii set from an unrevised Motte edition? The answer cannot be that the 1748 edition was a cheap publication to which Motte was indifferent. It probably cost more to produce than his single volume small octavo editions. Nor was it trade venture. The title-pages bear Bathurst's name only.

(5) In 1736 an edition of the famous Pope and Swift *Miscellanies*, with continuations, was published in six duodecimo volumes. In 1742 another publisher, T. Cooper, continued the set with vols. vii<sup>1</sup> and viii. At the end of vol. vii, pp. 277-301, is a section with a separate title-page, 'Some Particular Passages in *Gulliver's Travels*, Compared with the Dublin Edition'.<sup>2</sup> This, the first printed collation of the text of *Gulliver's Travels*, is a half-hearted piece of work. The Preface to the volume, p. vi, remarks: 'It must be acceptable to the Possessors of *Gulliver's Travels*, to have an opportunity to correct the Text by our Comparison of the *Dublin Edition* with those of *London*;' and the editor proceeds to call attention to the 'Letter from Capt. Gulliver to his Cousin Sympson' (prefixed to Faulkner's edition), which, apparently, he takes seriously, missing Swift's irony and intended mystification.<sup>3</sup> Another Preface precedes that section of the volume under consideration. It refers to a 'most intimate Friend of the Author's' who bought a copy of *Gulliver* in sheets which he bound up with blank leaves 'and made those Corrections, which

<sup>1</sup> I am indebted to Dr. Lucius L. Hubbard for first drawing my attention to this volume. At the time we had neither of us been able to secure copies, which seem to be rare.

<sup>2</sup> Nichols, *Literary Anecdotes*, ii. 155, states that volume vii was edited by William Bowyer. If so, Bowyer's testimony to the value of Faulkner's edition is of interest.

<sup>3</sup> See my edition of *Gulliver's Travels*, pp. xlvi-xliv.

*the Reader may find in the Dublin Edition, printed by George Faulkner*—an interesting contemporary note on Ford's book.<sup>1</sup>

The comparison between the Dublin (i.e. Faulkner's) and the London (i.e. Motte's) editions amounts to little. The variant texts of three passages, one from Part III (c. vi) and two from Part IV (cc. v and vi) are printed to face each other on opposite pages. The value of the comparison is largely negated by the fact that the transcriber (or compositor) drops into several errors, and between eighty and ninety typographical differences from his originals. Nor does this partial synopsis give the least idea of the character and extent of the variations of the Faulkner text. If Bowyer was responsible for the remark of the Preface (p. 280) that he only found '*a few small Variations, beside the following comparative Transcript*' it is manifest that nature never designed him for a collator of texts. The importance of this volume lies in the independent witness of Bowyer to the value of Faulkner's revision. 'That Edition was corrected and revised, as his Printer Mr. Falkener intimates, by 'some of the Author's Friends; or (in another Place, perhaps 'more truly) by the Author himself; an Advantage, as that 'Editor rightly remarks, which the *London Booksellers* could 'not have.'<sup>2</sup> The consistent depreciation of Faulkner, handed down for nearly two hundred years, from the days of rivalry between the London and Dublin booksellers, can now be discounted. The Dublin printer has come into his own.

<sup>1</sup> In the Forster Library, South Kensington. In the Pierpont Morgan Library there is a second interleaved copy with corrections in Ford's hand.

<sup>2</sup> *Miscellanies in Prose and Verse*. By Dr. Swift, vol. vii, p. iv, Cooper, 1742. And compare the writer's edition of *Gulliver's Travels*, pp. xxxviii-l.

## ELEMENTARY EXERCISES IN BIBLIOGRAPHY

By R. W. CHAPMAN



Y own experience is that in bibliography the mistakes I most readily make are the simple and (when seen) most glaring mistakes. I find that frequent practice (with the multiplication-table and with folded paper) is necessary to keep me out of absurd traps. If, as I suspect, others experience the same kind of fallibility, the very simple exercises which follow may be found useful.

### 1. Imposition in half-sheets.

Take the case—very common in the eighteenth century—of an octavo in fours. If we exclude as remote the possibility that the sheet of paper used was actually half the usual size, there are two ways in which such a book might be produced.

(a) Impose B<sup>4</sup> and C<sup>4</sup> in such a way that the sheet when cut in half (along the shorter diameter) will give one copy of B and one of C. Mr. McKerrow (*Bibliography for Literary Students*, 1927, p. 67) rightly points out that ‘there would be little if any gain in doing this’. He cites, however (p. 68), a 16mo of 1575 which he shows was actually produced in this way.

(b) Impose B<sup>4</sup> in such a way that the sheet, when perfected from the same type, but turned end to end, will give *two* copies of B.

In either event the watermarks will fall on different signatures from those which carry them in ordinary 8vo. Assume that (as commonly in my period) the sheet has two (easily distinguishable) watermarks, a larger and a smaller. Each lies across the longer diameter, and is somewhere near the centre of the half-sheet. In an ordinary 8vo we expect to find the larger watermark either on the first, fourth, fifth, and eighth

leaves (I find it easy to remember 'fourteen fifty-eight', as if a date), or on the second, third, sixth, and seventh. There are variations ; if it is eccentric (to the half-sheet) the watermark may be wholly on 1 and 4 or wholly on 5 and 8. But since it ordinarily lies across the longer diameter (of the whole sheet) it should not, in an uncropped copy, be found on 1 and 8 only or on 4 and 5 only.

What will happen in half-sheet imposition? Under method (a) we expect to find one watermark on all four leaves of B<sup>4</sup> and the other on all four leaves of C<sup>4</sup> (with variations as above). Under method (b), one of the two copies of B<sup>4</sup> printed at the same time will have the larger watermark on all four leaves and the other will have the smaller on all four leaves.

Now may we assume that under method (a) the books would be collated before the sheets were bisected? If we may, then this result follows, that a given copy of the book, if it consists of 16 half-sheets, will show 8 large watermarks and 8 small ; for each of the 8 full sheets of which the book consists has both watermarks. If, however, the sheets were bisected first, and the half-sheets collated afterwards, the inference does not hold. It would be natural, I think, to collate first ; but I lack evidence.

In *Fragments of Ancient Poetry*, Edinburgh 1760 (the first appearance of 'Ossian'), an 8vo, A-I in fours, I find the larger watermark on 3 half-sheets, the smaller on 6.

This argument is of little practical importance ; for it will hardly be doubted that method (b) was in fact the normal procedure.

## 2. Erroneous perfecting.

Mr. McKerrow remarks (p. 68) that a proof of method (b) would be furnished if a sheet had been put in from the wrong end in perfecting ; for then we should get 2 half-sheets each of 4 leaves, each containing not 8 different pages but 4 pages in duplicate. He cannot adduce a case ; but, as he says, such

an error would almost certainly be detected in folding, and the sheet discarded.

This leads me to what I suppose to be an example of faulty perfecting, though it is not in half-sheet imposition. Aken-side's *Odes 1745* is a quarto, [A]-F in fours plus G<sup>3</sup>. Mr. Iolo Williams (*Eighteenth-Century Bibliographies*, 1924, p. 90) recognizes two issues, which he calls second and third, the earlier having B 1 a cancel, the later showing a reprint of this sheet. But he knows also of two copies in which B 1 recto (p. 9) is backed by p. 52. These he calls the first issue, supposing the purpose of the cancel to be the correction of the monster. This is a very natural inference, but it does not account for the monster. How came p. 52 (G 2 verso) in sheet B?

Mr. Williams, who has doubtless examined many copies of this not uncommon book, reports that he has never seen a copy with a fourth leaf in G. This very strongly suggests that G 4 was in fact not blank, but was used. I suspect that it was used to print the cancel B 1. Now if, in perfecting the sheet (G 1, G 2, G 3, B 1), the paper was put in the wrong way, B 1 recto *would* be backed by G 2 verso, p. 52. If two or more copies were so misprinted, and the leaf B 1 recto + G 2 verso cut away, the remainder of the sheet, being in chaos, would be detected and discarded in folding; but the single-leaf monster, having a satisfactory recto, might well survive.

Presumably, from Mr. Williams's account, the monster shows no visible sign of being a cancel. But we cannot argue from the absence of stub. His third issue (which seems equally to depend on the absence of any visible sign of cancel) may be a ghost.

(If my solution is correct, the reason why B 1 had to be cancelled is still to seek.)

### 3. Simple inference from watermarks.

The second edition, Edinburgh 1760, of *Fragments of Ancient Poetry*, 8vo [A]-I in fours+K<sup>3</sup>. The preliminary consists

of five leaves—the title-leaf, the Preface (pp. [iii] and iv–viii), and an advertisement-leaf. K<sup>3</sup> was printed on an oddment, which has a watermark not found elsewhere in my copy. The same watermark appears on the advertisement-leaf. Therefore this leaf was printed as K 4, and no blank is to be looked for.

*Letters between the honourable Andrew Erskine and James Boswell, Esq., London 1763*, is an 8vo, B–K in eights + L<sup>6</sup> + 2 unsigned leaves of preliminary. There are two watermarks, a very large one and a very small one. Mr. F. A. Pottle, whose Bibliography of Boswell is in the press, tells me that he has found no trace of any blanks in L. Now if there were blanks, they would probably be L 7 and L 8. The printer could leave it to the binder to do what he chose. If, however, the printer had a use for the two blanks—to print the two preliminary leaves—the prudent thing would be to reserve the inner fold (the fourth and fifth leaves), which could be removed without creating any need for paste. Now look at the watermark. I have examined two copies.

	(1)	(2)
L 1	small	nil
L 2	large	large
L 3	large	large
L 4	large	large
[L 5]	large	large
[L 6]	nil	nil

Now, in an 8vo, the same watermark cannot fall on the second, third, fourth, and fifth leaves. The inference is clear. L 1–[L 6] are in fact the first, second, third, sixth, seventh, and eighth leaves. (The incidence of the watermark, it will be remembered, is either 1 4 5 8 or 2 3 6 7.) The function of signatures is to give the order of the leaves when folded; we must not expect them always to tell the truth about imposition.

The real fourth and fifth leaves were doubtless used to print the preliminary. In one of my copies these leaves show the larger watermark, and therefore were never part of the same piece of paper as the L<sup>6</sup> of that copy; they come from another copy. (This, as far as it goes, tends to show that cutting preceded collation.)

## REVIEWS AND NOTICES

*The Booke of Sir Thomas Moore* (A Bibliotic Study). By SAMUEL A. TANNENBAUM. New York, The Tenny Press [privately printed, 1927]. 8°, 155 pages with 22 facsimiles.

DR. TANNENBAUM has pursued with intrepidity the task of identifying the various handwritings that occur in the play of *Sir Thomas More* as preserved in MS. Harley 7368. His contribution to the problem is the assertion that Hand A (of the Malone Society Reprint) is that of Henry Chettle, Hand B that of Thomas Heywood, and Hand C that of Thomas Kyd. It is the third of these that is most important for the history of the play, since Kyd was arrested on 12 May 1593 in connexion with certain 'libels' on foreigners inhabiting the City, became involved, and involved Marlowe, in a charge of 'atheism', and though subsequently released died the following year.

Since the writer of Hand C, whether himself part author of the piece or not, admittedly acted as general editor and stage adapter for the revised version, Dr. Tannenbaum has no difficulty in constructing, on the basis of his identifications, a plausible and, at any rate in its main outlines, a convincing account of the composition and subsequent fortunes of this much discussed play. According to him the dramatization of the 11th May Day of 1517 was undertaken in the spring of 1593, when feeling against 'aliens' again ran high, and was written, censored, and revised before Kyd's arrest on 12 May not only put an end to his own activities but at the same time made it obvious that all idea of performance would have to be abandoned.

For my own part I should be very glad if this account of the matter could be accepted, for though the proposed date is some months earlier than that for which Mr. Pollard argued in *Shakespeare's Hand in the Play of 'Sir Thomas More'*, it is, I

think, in some ways more probable, and it would fit in equally well with the general view advanced in that work. Of course, the account may be correct even if the attribution of the hands should prove mistaken, but the case, as here argued, is essentially based upon these attributions, and must be considered upon that ground. I shall, therefore, in what follows, confine myself to the palaeographical evidence, and refrain from entering on any general literary or historical discussion, either to point out Dr. Tannenbaum's many acute arguments and observations or to controvert the doubtful assertions that are also not infrequent. If Dr. Tannenbaum's main contention as to the hands is correct, then he has undoubtedly come within measurable distance of solving the problem, and his further arguments concerning the history of the play will deserve the closest consideration ; if, on the other hand, his main contention has to be rejected, then the sooner his book is forgotten the better, for in spite of its incidental merits, it can only prove misleading. I do not think that Dr. Tannenbaum will object to this procedure on my part, for he has himself absolute confidence in the correctness of his ascriptions and avowedly bases his whole case thereon.

The material available for a comparison of Hand C with Kyd's is ample and admirable. Of the latter we have his long letter to Puckering and his deposition against Marlowe : of the former we have four full pages in *More* (besides several shorter passages) and likewise certain writings elsewhere. Each of these documents is freely written, apparently in the writer's normal hand, without any cramping conditions or attempt at disguise, and although the letter is rather more formal than the rest, the difference is not sufficient to introduce any element of serious difficulty. The documents were for the most part written, according to Dr. Tannenbaum, within a few months of each other. Moreover, a point of great importance, the hands are of the same general type, which makes comparison

all the easier and more certain. Of Hand C I wrote, when editing *More*, that 'it is well formed, both as regards English and Italian script, and has more pretence to beauty or at least ornament than any other appearing in the manuscript'. I might have added that it retains some distinct traces of the writing school. Of Kyd's hand I wrote, in *English Literary Autographs*, that its 'strikingly professional character . . . bears out the suggestion that Kyd had spent some years at his father's trade' of scrivener. If ever there was a case in which an authoritative pronouncement as to the identity of the hands was possible, surely it is here.

Now I submit that it is only necessary to put these hands side by side to see that they are different (Plates III and IV). If, among literary hands, that of C seems to incline somewhat to the legal type, Kyd's simply is a scrivener's. Moreover, the graphic habits and characters of the two are completely different. The hand that traced C's curves would have been incapable of those formed by Kyd. No single feature of the writings appears to correspond, nor, so far as I can see, are there any individual resemblances between them. It would be easy to point out specific differences, but where the material is ample and suitable, I consider that the general appearance and character of a hand afford a better guide than the shapes of individual letters, though these supply a useful check upon the broader impression. Dr. Tannenbaum has, however, made up a couple of plates comparing the forms of certain letters in the hands of C and Kyd, and though these fail to bring out at all adequately the differences between the two, I think they should serve to convince most students of Elizabethan writing that the hands are not likely to be the same. And while I do not wish to rely on any particular forms, there are one or two that may be worth mentioning as individual features of the hands to which attention was drawn before the question of identifying them arose. In 1911 I pointed out with regard to C that





Dear Doctor,  
Thomas. This is to tell you, that we have just received your £.  
Cochran in Wicklow and will very soon return  
you us of money sent. You are indeed  
very little to be called upon, just now.  
We shall have it when,  
when you get home.  
It is however with great difficulty  
to receive by post.  
I really think Cochrane is suffering from loss of  
the use of his hands, which would account for  
his getting up and off bed all night long,  
but they seem like movements that are不由自主  
and never seem to give him much trouble.  
He has just had a bad fall.  
I hope however,  
he will get better and stronger.  
I will let you know  
as soon as I can.  
I am in haste this  
English. Tell you  
how little we are here though  
the snow here is terrible  
and off course is no other  
place as yours is always cold.  
Our weather is very bad.  
Invariably and often blizzard.  
Besides you will never see

I. HEYWOOD'S HAND IN *THE CAPTIVES* (MS. Egerton 1994, fol. 69<sup>a</sup>)

Lord & wife to speak & I will speak upon them  
for you & upon  
If my love of God no more abounds me  
but they can bring my love & affection to the rest  
and with much difficulty do me you please with me consider  
not to be much difficult of it to speak  
on your love of God without and  
equally to denote how deeply fit and  
the place to come & to speak in my favor  
you can at all in my knowledge as you say you have and  
I speak of your ~~knowledge~~ of what life we have  
you are and will tell this rate and fit yourself  
what will you speak about it in the life & what many others  
you now & yourself to bring up my Lady & myself  
it is one day right for you and a master who has no  
one else to go with you whereof you will make a book  
in qualities and fit for a certain man and know not  
the world  
will decline into and more change you ~~desire~~  
many other but to affect us with only the best &

## II. HAND 'B' IN *SIR THOMAS MORE* (fol. 16<sup>a</sup>)

overcomer of our country Israel for want or of his owne dispose to leuides' cause  
the pretest of heretic or schism or to redire himselfe to her. he wold not but her  
rule be his waite intente vnto y<sup>e</sup> to suspect me & shall be/ce in all commilitie  
& in the feare of god and it will please yo<sup>r</sup> sp<sup>t</sup> but to examine me as if I had  
probd me selfe and to repute hem al by me as indeede Cum tamen misericordia  
nulla capit al sit quam eori<sup>s</sup> que sum cur maxime fallent id. assent ut viri  
h<sup>e</sup> esse vulnus & for doubtles even hem yo<sup>r</sup> sp<sup>t</sup> shall furt to breake  
hem leuides deſernd and set into her trouble men but her lures hys  
etate cause accusa me scelbe examined & trypped vpon effectually. for  
vnaue & examine we paul to me & shall let vpo me of his cause into her  
for he is let ignorant suspect me guiltie of his former tryall  
And thus for nowe I faire me I wydow<sup>e</sup> bairnes & a hermit & need ha  
not ist & blyndes & solom<sup>e</sup> I tolde mynne cause of her damnable doings to  
the awefull Ma<sup>r</sup> d<sup>r</sup> or o<sup>r</sup> her other mynnowe yd<sup>e</sup> son<sup>e</sup> lord he shalbe  
I wode haue willed redale to her as I wold ryght yo<sup>r</sup> sp<sup>t</sup> bittre sougry of  
me her never furt offendee

### III. KYD'S HAND IN THE LETTER TO PUCKERING (MS. HARL. 6849, FOL. 218<sup>b</sup>)

MOORE. *Straghtons foray into yon place against my father  
my noble mother.*

*Surry.* ~~of my noble son~~ <sup>my noble son</sup> ~~of my noble son~~

It is a finding of the court of justice  
that no such thing happened.

1902 - *Scutellaria galericulata* L. var. *gigantea* Benth. (as *Scutellaria galericulata* L. var. *gigantea* Benth.)  
Giant skullcap. Flowers white, purple or blue.  
Flowers white, purple or blue.

Per l'oppo a di Audomaro hunc est longe per l'oppo  
ant hunc 2 l'oppo hunc

Surrey  
11  
Dott my Lord, It's a common saying amongst  
the old people with rheumatism

Moore - write the phone number

And it was a goodly sight to see  
The King and Queen in their apparel.

To Ex Comit Salomon Heroic facta  
qui faciunt reges herrica carmina lassant  
and ad quae phisici sive per son dormy

and as you photons from your source  
over 10<sup>18</sup> cm<sup>-2</sup> s<sup>-1</sup> Hz<sup>-1</sup> will always  
have with the help of me, where I can find?

inter m' Morris

IV. HAND 'C' IN *SIR THOMAS MORE* (fol. 12<sup>a</sup>)

The Nature divine is single communicable to no creature comprehendible of no creature understanding explicable to no speech. But as Paul saith in the first of the Romans by the invisible structure of the world we apprehend the invisible of power sapience & goodness of God where it is by the scriptures evident That there is one God As in the sixth of Deut: yo' God is one God yet the vocable is transferred to other & therefore it is written in the eighteenth Psalm of David God stood in the shadow of Gods which place Christ in the tenth of John declareth to agree to the prophete whiles he studieth to avoid the crime of Blasphemie for that the calling of God Father had signified

V. HAND OF THE 'HERETICAL DISPUTATION' (MS. Harl. 6848, fol. 187<sup>a</sup>)

Enter ferrex at one dore · Porrex at an other The  
first ferrex is slayn · to them videna the Queene  
to sir thamus · to him Lucius.

Enter porrex sad w<sup>t</sup> bordan his man · R P · to them  
to them the Queene and Radie Nick Samder  
And lords R Cowly m<sup>r</sup> Brian · to them Lucius Rming

Henry and Lidgat speake slots passeth ouer  
Enter Giraldus Phronesius Aspatia Pompeia Radye  
R Cowly R Gudale R Go · Ned · Nick

Enter Sardinapalus Arbactus Nicanor and  
Captaines marching m<sup>r</sup> Phillippe m<sup>r</sup> Pope R Pa  
Kit C sinder · f Holland ·

VI. HAND 'C' IN THE PLOT OF THE SEVEN DEADLY SINS (Dulwich MS. xix)

Flaminus: A man that stol's hym selfe Antiochus, say you?  
Calistus: not alone stol'de he but as his receant  
and favor'd by his Asinus.

Flaminus: Two impostors  
for he in pretension to get hys name  
alwaies fawr pay'd I don't wch shall affynd  
Escape discommyn'd.

Calistus: I will exact your wisdome  
With an Hellenish armes (the cause requires it)  
To strangle his new monstres in his brest.  
For on my life he hath deliberd to  
His credulous multitude such reasons nyn  
To say howlike heleme he is to brwe Antiochus  
that wch his exultations for his safetie  
I wished for his restitucion answry  
After his fatallte of their blud, and fortunado

VII. MASSINGER'S HAND IN *BELIEVE AS YOU LIST* (MS. Egerton 2828, fol. 8<sup>b</sup>)

Dagon: god an ostent lergomen See son of flamin  
The child of forlorn all mett knout his name: fl. amidst  
fire: pangs stote you in umbrage of blood & yell  
Pluto fightings waine my flavia must be buffyng of a  
wot to us fair mares & wil try out the war  
and valiantly in thy great ouerall stri  
Upon Flavia battis me here we be.

Smyth: Blarke for this wile, vowe, and in a record  
And a Pandore file o we my goodes  
Two vines vulcan wone the owles due pall  
fire: o my enoy grasse a Capitale  
I am for vulcan now for mowre noe more  
it my wife scold my boyf ymmer shall woe.

Smyth: Burne o mont taylor frath and dor not bad  
the massy tree and take unto to my yarde  
nd if my hode been peare not worth a godkin  
Cwysdene arse o we tride sole my yarde and godkin.

VIII. UNIDENTIFIED HAND IN *THE FAITHFUL FRIENDS* (Dyce MS. 10, p. 69\*)





'A peculiarity of the hand is a marked tendency to form the "p" as if it were "p" (e.g. Plate IV, l. 4 'poet', l. 6 'poets', l. 18 'pen'). I have found nothing of the sort in Kyd's writing. On the other hand, I wrote of the latter in 1925 : 'A notable peculiarity is the distinctively legal form of the final "s" which is occasionally found' (e.g. Plate III, l. 1 'his', l. 5 'as'). This is totally foreign to C, as to literary hands generally. I may add that one of the most useful letters for differentiating hands is the final 'f' (for instance Hands C and D of *More* are readily distinguished by this test). And while it is possible that neither C nor Kyd is quite consistent in the form employed (though I have not observed any variation) there can be no question that in the vast majority of cases they made use of forms that are markedly and characteristically different (compare for example the form of 'of' seen in Plate III, ll. 1, 13, 14, with that seen in Plate IV, ll. 4, 9, 18). The significance of this will be apparent when we remember that, according to Dr. Tannenbaum, the letter to Puckering was probably written within some six months of the pages in *More*.<sup>1</sup>

It is not that Dr. Tannenbaum has tripped over a difficult or doubtful case : his error in identifying Hand C as Kyd's is one that must seriously invalidate any opinion he pronounces on matters of this kind, for it shows that his judgement is quite untrustworthy. Probably it is his method rather than his eye that is at fault, for he can be observant enough on occasion. He calls his work 'A Bibliotic Study' and claims to have followed the methods of investigation into disputed documents practised in the American courts of law. One observation

<sup>1</sup> A much closer parallel to Kyd's hand will be found in MS. Lansd. 99, art. 96, containing a challenge to a tourney signed 'The Blewe Knight', the end of which (fol. 259<sup>b</sup>) has been reproduced in the Malone Society Collections, i. 183. It is again a hand of a typically legal character (it has the same final 's'), but though it shows some individual resemblance to Kyd's I should hesitate to ascribe it to him—indeed, I do not believe that it is his.

immediately suggests itself, namely that the problems that come before the courts almost always involve questions either of forgery or of abnormal circumstances, illness, disguise, or the like. It very seldom happens that any question arises as to whether two perfectly normal documents were written by one hand or not. But this is an habitual problem of palaeography. It should not be assumed that the methods best adapted to the solution of the two problems are the same, and I do not believe that they are. Nor do I know whether his fellow 'bibliots'—is that the correct term?—would accept Dr. Tannenbaum as an authoritative exponent of their science, and admit his conclusions as a necessary outcome of their methods. But of this I am quite certain, that if Dr. Tannenbaum is to be taken as a master of the craft, and its methods judged by the fruit they bear in his study, then 'bibliotics' is a pseudo science and twin brother to 'graphology'.

Nor is this identification the only one over which Dr. Tannenbaum has, it appears to me, gone astray. Not content with the two documents generally accepted as representing Kyd's hand, he has made him responsible for the fragment of the so-called heretical disputation found among his papers, which is written in Italian script. Since there are only three or four lines of Italian writing in the letter to Puckering, the basis of comparison is not very ample. It is, indeed, in my opinion quite sufficient to show that the disputation was not written by Kyd, though I can imagine that some palaeographers might not be so readily satisfied. But if it is Kyd's, then the identification with C becomes more impossible than ever. Dr. Tannenbaum, it is true, stoutly maintains that the Italian script of the disputation is identical with that of the two theatrical Plots (one complete, one fragmentary) admittedly written by C. But again it is only necessary to place a page of the disputation (an adequate facsimile of which is provided by Dr. Tannenbaum) side by side with an adequate repro-

duction of the Plot of *The Seven Deadly Sins* (which Dr. Tannenbaum's is not) to see that these Italian hands are, if possible, even more manifestly different than the English hands discussed above (see Plates V and VI).

Before leaving the Plots there is one other matter I should like to mention. The fragmentary nature of the second of those in Hand C makes its detailed interpretation difficult, but there is hardly room for doubt that it is somehow connected with a play called *Fortune's Tennis*, in connexion with which the Admiral's men made a payment to Dekker in September 1600. There are reasons for supposing that the Plot is earlier than this, but it can hardly be much earlier, and the evidence can be best reconciled with an origin in the Admiral's company between October 1597 and November 1598. I would not assert that the evidence is conclusive, but it is of considerable weight (sufficient to leave no serious doubt in my own mind) and is entitled to the careful consideration of any one concerned with the dating of these documents. When, therefore, Dr. Tannenbaum, after mentioning the limits of 1597 and 1602 that have been suggested for the Plot, dismisses the matter in a foot-note with the magisterial remark that 'The handwriting test disproves both these dates', his attitude is that of an advocate in the law-court rather than of a scholar in pursuit of truth. Those who are capable of appreciating the details of theatrical history will agree that the document goes some way at least towards proving that the writer of Hand C was at work three years after Kyd's death.

Another very doubtful attribution is that of a scene in Act IV of *The Faithful Friends* (Dyce MS. 10, pp. 69\* f.) to Massinger (see Plates VII and VIII). Massinger's hand, though curiously irregular and containing many variant forms, is strikingly individual, and once it has become familiar is not easily mistaken. There would be no difficulty in recognizing the brief postscript to Field's letter as his, even if it were

unsigned ; and as we have a whole play in his hand, besides other documents, we have a good opportunity of studying the variations of which his writing is capable. And I do not think that any one who had given proper attention to Massinger's hand could possibly confuse it with that of the two pages in *The Faithful Friends*.<sup>1</sup>

Considering how unreliable Dr. Tannenbaum has shown himself in these major matters, where there is ample material for comparison, a critic who studies his book with discretion will hardly be inclined to rely much on his judgement when concerned with points of detail where comparison is hampered by the exiguity of the data. The most important of these cases is the word 'seriant' in the margin of folio 8<sup>a</sup> of *More* (Addition II, l. 139), which has already been hotly disputed. The word (a speaker's name prefixed to a speech written by Hand D) is peculiar in having an Italian 's' and 'r' nowhere else used by D, and Dr. Tannenbaum therefore argues that the word was not written by D at all, but by C. In this passage C is editing D freely, and the margin contains a number of words in his hand. Even in the facsimile, still better in the original, the eye readily picks out and distinguishes the words written by the two hands, for not only is C writing in a markedly different style from D, but he is using ink of a different tone. And there is no question, as any one can see for himself, that by this first test the word 'seriant' falls to

<sup>1</sup> Dr. Tannenbaum announces incidentally that he has no doubt that the manuscripts of the *Peregrinatio Scholastica* and *The Parliament of Bees* in the British Museum, and also the Bodleian manuscript of *The Return from Parnassus*, are in the hand of John Day. Of course, I had to consider these problems in preparing Part I of *English Literary Autographs*, and I then came to, and expressed, the opinion that no sufficient case could be made out for regarding them as holograph. I have not examined the evidence afresh and therefore refrain from expressing any further opinion. I am aware, however, that the two Museum manuscripts at least possess certain curious and interesting features, and I hope, if opportunity serves, to return to the question some day.

D and not to C. Moreover, though the Italian 's' is unique in D's hand, it is, I think, nevertheless manifestly his. The bold, light, sweeping curve is utterly unlike anything to be seen in Hand C, while it finds a close parallel in some of the capital 'L's' written by D. Observe also that immediately below we have 'seriaunt' admittedly in Hand D, whereas at the foot of the previous page C spells the word 'sergaunt'.

Another instance comes from *John a Kent*. I once pointed out that a few stage directions in this play seemed to have been added by Hand C. Dr. Tannenbaum concurs, and follows with the assertion that on the cover there appears, 'in a penmanship which is unquestionably that of C', the word 'Thomas'—the Christian name of Kyd! To argue over a faint scribble of this sort as if any certainty were possible, would be absurd. If Dr. Tannenbaum had said that it looked rather like Kyd's hand, I should not have violently demurred, but I can see no resemblance to C's whatever. Attribution and interpretation are alike fantastic and unworthy of a serious work of criticism.

On the other hand there are two small points on which, although they may not be altogether beyond dispute, I have myself no hesitation in agreeing with Dr. Tannenbaum. On folio 8<sup>b</sup> of *More* (Addition II, l. 213) there is a speaker's name 'moor'. It is rather roughly written in darkish ink, and I ascribed it to Hand C. Dr. Tannenbaum points out that this is an error: it is D's. Further, I gladly acknowledge his acuteness in detecting that on folio 13<sup>b</sup> (Addition IV, l. 193) the words 'I am *ipse*' were added by Dekker to a passage written by C.

These agreements may serve as a transition to the pleasanter task of considering those points on which I at least differ less emphatically from Dr. Tannenbaum. Several years ago I remarked on the resemblance between Hand B and that of

Thomas Heywood and suggested the possibility of identification, though I did not consider that the evidence justified a pronouncement in its favour (see Plates I and II). Dr. Tannenbaum has followed up the suggestion, and argues at length and in detail that the hands are indeed the same. Unfortunately, after carefully considering his arguments I remain unconvinced; indeed, a fresh and close comparison of the documents has if anything increased my scepticism. Of course, I do not deny the possibility, but I regard the identification as too risky to entertain with confidence. And there is one feature of Dr. Tannenbaum's argument to which I think it right to direct attention. There is, of course, a considerable interval between the date he assigns to *More*, 1593, and that which he assigns to *The Captives*, 1619-20 (it was not licensed till September 1624), and Heywood's hand may reasonably be expected to have altered in the interval. Dr. Tannenbaum seeks to show that the hand of *The Escapes of Jupiter*, which he dates 1611-13, supplies a link between the hand seen in *More* and that of *The Captives*. Now, if it be granted that Hand B is Heywood's, it may be possible to demonstrate that *The Escapes* is intermediate between the other two; and if it be granted that *The Escapes* is intermediate, it may be possible to trace a development from *More*, through *The Escapes*, to *The Captives*, and so make it probable that Hand B is one end of the chain. But there is no reason to suppose that *The Escapes* is earlier than *The Captives*; it may quite possibly have been written after 1624, let alone 1620. The reason for Dr. Tannenbaum's date 1611-13 obviously is that 1611 and 1613 are the dates of publication of *The Golden Age* and *The Silver Age*, the two plays of which *The Escapes* is a *réchauffé*. But so far as I know there is nothing to lead us to suppose that the hash was of fresh meat, and indeed the reverse seems more probable. I cannot, therefore, regard the identity of Hand B with Heywood's as at all adequately established. But if it were

it would make it less likely that *More* was revised as early as 1593. For now that Dr. Sisson has discovered the date of Heywood's birth, it seems risky to assume that he began writing for the stage during Kyd's lifetime; and, moreover, Hand B is surely not that of a boy of nineteen.<sup>1</sup>

There remains Hand A, which Dr. Tannenbaum identifies as Chettle's. This time I think there can be no doubt that he is correct, and I feel that I ought to have made the discovery years ago. My excuse must be that when I was working at *More* there were only available a few photographs of Chettle's writing scattered among the sixty-odd hands of Henslowe's diary, and that when I was preparing Part I of *English Literary Autographs* I had not the problems of *More* particularly in mind. Still I am aware that the excuse is a lame one, and I take off my hat to Dr. Tannenbaum for what is certainly an interesting and may perhaps prove an important discovery.

W. W. GREG.

*The Seventeenth Earl of Oxford, 1550-1604, from contemporary documents.*  
By B. M. WARD. London: John Murray, 1928. 21s.

EDWARD DE VERE, seventeenth Earl of Oxford, was an important person in his own day, and many an Elizabethan scholar has long wanted to know just how much of that impor-

<sup>1</sup> There is one matter which, to avoid future confusion, I had better mention here. Writing concerning *The Captives* in Part I of *English Literary Autographs*, I remarked that 'Certain directions have been added later, but it would seem by the same hand'. This view is contrary to that expressed by Mr. A. C. Judson, who edited the play, but Dr. Tannenbaum records a cautious agreement, 'from what I have seen of photostats'. I am at a loss to know how I came to make the statement, and I had already marked it for correction. The hand of the stage directions is almost, or quite, as bad as Heywood's, but I do not think it can be his. The matter is not of much importance, for Heywood may quite well have been stage-managing for the company at the time he wrote the play; but we ought not to infer from the manuscript that he was.

tance will survive the light of modern scrutiny. Mr. Ward has allowed himself the ample scope of some four hundred pages in order to give as complete a study as possible of the Earl's life, character, and achievements. He has expanded, very properly, all the facts briefly given in Sir Sidney Lee's life in the *D.N.B.*, and he has also added a considerable amount of new material. He has printed for the first time thirteen letters—or portions of letters—of Oxford's in the Hatfield collection, as well as many details concerning the Earl's life drawn from this hitherto unexploited source. He has made good use of the material amongst the State Papers, and is—so far as I am aware—the first to print the letters written by and to Oxford which are to be found mainly in the Lansdowne MSS. He also, among other details, throws fresh and interesting light upon the Earl's 'tennis-court quarrel' with Sir Philip Sidney.

In view, therefore, of the amount of study and research which has gone to the making of the book, it is particularly unfortunate that Mr. Ward's work should be marred by two really grave defects. Firstly, in so far as I have had the opportunity to check them, his transcripts of original material are inaccurate and unreliable. Secondly, his whole view of Oxford's character and achievements is continually open to question because he treats his evidence, whatever its provenance or nature, as equally valuable.

The checking of seven manuscripts, quoted in different parts of the book, revealed some sixty errors of transcription, or alternatively, silent alteration or insertion. These sixty do not include two serious omissions. In Letter 84 from Lansdowne MS. 14, written to Burghley requesting him to obtain for the Earl an opportunity for service at sea, the following is omitted without any indication being given: '... I be any way im-'  
'ploide, I am content and desire ... wher by I may show my  
'selfe dutifull to her. Otherwise if it wer ... that respecte,

'I thinke ther is more troble then credite to be gotten in  
'suche gouermentes'<sup>1</sup> (see Ward, p. 73). In Letter 63 from  
Lansdowne MS. 104 the following is omitted: 'not with-  
standing your euill vsadg of me' (see Ward, p. 226). For  
a biographer who seeks to discard the 'modern historians'  
descriptions of Oxford's treatment of his wife—'brutal', 'ill-  
tempered', 'churlish'—and to substitute for them 'hasty and  
harsh perhaps, nevertheless intensely human'—it is an un-  
fortunate omission to have made when quoting a letter of the  
Countess of Oxford's.

Misreadings such as 'for' for 'some', 'at' for 'in', 'fear'  
for 'feale' (p. 226): 'meaning' for 'cōceiuinge' (p. 76):  
'of' for 'yf', 'who' for 'that' (p. 246): 'to' for 'doo',  
'is' for 'were', 'remembering' for 'recomendinge' (p. 73)  
are not serious in themselves, or separately. Taken in bulk,  
however, and as indicative of the standard of accuracy main-  
tained in transcription, checking, and proof correction, they  
undoubtedly make it impossible for the student to avail him-  
self of Mr. Ward's new material without reference to the  
original documents. The matter is further complicated by the  
inconsistent methods employed in dealing with manuscript  
material. For example, a footnote such as that on p. 235,  
'the last sentence has been lightly scratched out in the MS.',  
leads one to suppose that anything else of that kind will receive  
similar comment. This, however, is not so: see particularly  
pp. 73, 223, 226, and 245–6 where no indication is given either  
of editor's omissions and corrections, or of manuscript deletions  
and alterations. In a work of serious scholarship to-day this  
standard cannot pass muster.

In his estimate of Oxford's character and literary achieve-  
ments Mr. Ward takes his Elizabethan evidence at once too  
seriously and too indiscriminately. On the evidence of his

<sup>1</sup> The dots indicate illegibility or destruction of the manuscript at these points.

literary remains Oxford had a good prose style, and was no worse a versifier than most of his contemporaries who filled the anthologies. For his lost works we have only the evidence of his fellows ; but it would hardly be reasonable to take the testimony of dedicatory epistles at their face value in those days of patronage, or to take the opinions of Meres, Webbe, and others as indicative of any absolute literary values. These latter gauge contemporary opinion, and nothing more.

Mr. Ward, finally, would have done Oxford better service had he not been so anxious to 'make a case' for him, and to whitewash his reputation. He has allowed himself too much of the 'it seems not unlikely' and 'we may conjecture' method to fill up gaps which might well be left as gaps. On the other hand, by refraining from all comment upon the incidents recorded on pp. 28 and 91-2, for example, he prejudices his readers against the favourable estimate he himself has formed and against which both these incidents appear to tell severely. Perhaps the most striking example of Mr. Ward's bias is to be seen in his comment on the letter quoted in full on pp. 107-8. Mr. Ward opines, on p. 113, that this letter, written on receipt of the news of the birth of his daughter and the safe delivery of his wife, expresses 'his whole-hearted joy at the news'. The letter is divided into three sections : in the first the Earl expatiates solely upon his own troubles and illness, in the second upon his own travel schemes, and in the third upon his own financial worries. Six lines from the end he writes, 'Thus thanking your Lordship for your good news of my wife's delivery, I recommend myself unto your favour', which is the only comment he makes. As expressive of 'whole-hearted joy' nothing could well be more inadequate, except silence.

M. ST. C. B.

*Les Origines de la gravure en France. Les Estampes sur bois et sur métal. Les incunables xylographiques.* Par ANDRÉ BLUM, docteur ès lettres. Paris et Bruxelles, G. VANOEEST, éditeur, 1927, pp. viii, 92. Planches 78. 250 francs. *Les Origines du livre à gravures en France.* Par ANDRÉ BLUM, docteur ès lettres. Paris et Bruxelles. G. VANOEEST, éditeur, 1928, pp. 99. Planches 78. 250 francs.

In these two handsome volumes M. André Blum has covered the history of woodcuts and dotted prints in France from the earliest times to the close of the fifteenth century, with the aid of a profusion of excellent illustrations. In the earlier book he treads a middle course between the extravagant claims advanced by M. Bouchot in 1903 for a Burgundian school of design to which the bulk of the single sheets and blockbooks produced up to 1470, most of them usually attributed to Germany or the Netherlands, was assigned on very inadequate evidence, and on the other hand the extreme scepticism with which the claim that lay behind Bouchot's extravagances, viz. that France had played an important part in the early development of woodcutting, was at first received. It is now clear that, some time before the famous St. Christopher print dated 1423 at the John Rylands Library, or the Brussels Virgin and Saints with the date doubtfully read as 1418, woodcuts for printing on fabrics or on paper had been produced in considerable numbers and that France had played her part in their production, while for the fifteenth century in criticizing M. Bouchot's larger claims, in 1903 itself, in the *Burlington Magazine*, Mr. Campbell Dodgson admitted the existence of at least ten French examples. Later critics have added others, which may be considered indisputable, and France can no longer be reckoned as having produced little besides the blockbook of *Les neuf preux*.

As M. Blum shows, the production of woodcuts was severely limited in France, as elsewhere, by the jealousy of the Gilds of Illuminators, but the monasteries were exempt from these restrictions and there can be no doubt that woodcut pictures

were produced in them as amulets and mementoes for sale to pilgrims and other visitors and had a wide circulation, though, as they were sewn into clothing and pasted on the lids of wooden boxes, they had little chance of surviving. The large wood blocks made for printing designs on stuffs must have been equally liable to destruction when fashions had changed. The celebrated 'Protat' block, with remains of an Annunciation on one side and a crucifixion on the other, belonging to M. Jules Protat of Mâcon, being larger than any early make of paper, must have been one of these, and on the score of the style of the dress and helmet a case is advanced for dating it as early as 1370. In general M. Blum is content to admit that owing to the distances to which paper might be conveyed, or woodcut pictures be carried by their purchasers, there can seldom be any certainty as to where or when a given block was produced. Even the evidence of costume, on which he is inclined to rely, may be thought uncertain owing to the probability that fashions would spread and continue in use in country districts long after they had been superseded at court or wealthy centres. The conditions which Mr. Goldschmidt has lately shown to have favoured the development of bookbinding in South Germany and the Netherlands may well also have favoured the production of woodcuts. Thus it seems probable that opinion will settle down to the belief that the claims of Germany and the Netherlands to have taken the lead must be sustained, but that France, as is shown by references in documents and trade regulations, was much more prolific than had been thought. When he comes to blockbooks M. Blum stresses the fact that an edition of the *Ars Moriendi* blocks which Dr. Schreiber considers to be the earliest is extant with French text in similar cutting. But if the blockbook was produced, as is generally believed, in the district of the Rhine there would be nothing surprising in a French text being produced there as well as a Latin, and doubtless a German which has not been preserved.

French claims have also been put forward for blockbooks of the *Apocalypse* and *Biblia Pauperum*, both of which M. Bouchot claimed as Burgundian, proposing to arrange the various versions in accordance with the fashions in costume and armour. The arguments from these cannot be swept aside, but allowance, as we have suggested, must be made for an element of accident in evidence of this kind. M. Blum shows his wisdom in recording the pleas and counterpleas without joining actively in any campaign of nationalism, and though the reader may be a little wearied by the arguments he gains by being presented with a much larger series of illustrations than could possibly have enriched the book if they had been confined to prints indisputably French.

In his second volume dealing with the illustrations in French printed books of the last twenty years of the fifteenth century M. Blum had in one way a much easier task, as the books and their origin and approximate dates are nearly all well known and there is little room for controversy. Perhaps because there are here no opposing pleas to be judiciously balanced in dealing with the history of the early years of French book-illustration M. Blum seems to us both less interested and less happy than in his first volume. To make descriptions of illustrated books interesting unless at least one specimen from every book mentioned is shown requires more literary craftsmanship than M. Blum possesses, and by telling his story in the 'Proctor order' of the dates at which their producers began to work and arranging his plates on the same lines he greatly confuses his tale. The reader has constantly to go back from the latest work of one firm to the earliest of the next and the general lines of development are obscured. This is particularly the case at Lyons, where the medley of styles is so great that it is only by attending specially to them that any order can be discovered. M. Blum remarks that the earliest Lyons woodcuts look much older than the books, and they are certainly amaz-

ingly rude for a city in which woodcutting had been practised for some generations. M. Blum appears to be ignorant of M. Bourdillon's monograph on *The Early Editions of Le Roman de la Rose* and though the first three editions were published at Lyons gives no illustration from them. Neither for Paris nor for Lyons, indeed, are his illustrations very well chosen, more particularly under Paris. The representation of the Early French Horae is so poor that we are tempted to think that M. Blum is reserving them for another big book. Another and serious grievance is that in order to show more examples in his allotted number of plates M. Blum has reduced the size of several of the larger ones and has done this with only a general notice to his readers, and without giving the size of the original, or even stating that it is reduced, either in the underline or in the list of plates. Thus in some ways this second volume is a disappointing book. Yet the charm of the French woodcuts at their best triumphs over these imperfections and we are glad it has been published. Taken as a whole the French illustrated books of the fifteenth century are inferior to the German and Italian, but at their best they hold their own. A. W. P.

*A History of Wood-Engraving.* By DOUGLAS PERCY BLISS. With one hundred and twenty illustrations. London, Toronto : J. M. Dent & Sons. pp. xvi, 263. Price 42s.

MR. BLISS'S book is honoured by a highly commendatory preface by Mr. Campbell Dodgson and thoroughly deserves the praise there given it. Mr. Bliss is himself a woodcutter of note, he writes with humour and decision, knows what to leave out as well as what to say, and while he quite rightly uses the work of previous writers on his subject the judgements he sets down have a very personal ring. His notices of Erhard, Reuwich, Pigouchet, and Tory are good examples of this, and his chapter on Dürer is a delight. As Mr. Dodgson notes, Mr. Bliss has also a special eye for popular woodcuts and fills the

gap between the middle of the sixteenth century and Bewick with an excellent chapter on them, but his chapbook sympathies lead him astray sometimes, as a most chapbooklike cut of a ship from the *Libre de Consolat*, of Barcelona (in the underline unhappily dated 1439 instead of 1493), is hardly good enough to be one of only four illustrations to the Spanish chapter. On the whole, however, the illustrations are well chosen as well as numerous and the book starts and ends well, at the beginning with the wonderful little print of the Blessed Mother and the Dead Christ of about 1440 (noted for being printed on rose-coloured vellum), the Protat block of c. 1370, and the splendid dotted cut of St. Christopher on horseback, and at the end with nearly a score of reproductions of modern work of which Mr. Bliss's technical training enables him to write with more tolerant appreciation than would be easy for a bookish antiquary. Mr. Campbell Dodgson rightly says of the book that 'a reader who knows the facts already may always learn something fresh' from it, and we hope it will sell fast enough to go soon into a cheaper edition in which it will become a handbook for all young craftsmen.

A. W. P.

*The Earliest Catalogues of the Bodleian Library* described by G. W. WHEELER.  
Printed at the University Press, Oxford. 1928. pp. x, 149. With four facsimiles.  
100 copies printed for private circulation.

MR. WHEELER has already traversed much of the ground here covered in his very competent introduction to the edition of Sir Thomas Bodley's letters to his librarian, Dr. Thomas James, published by the Oxford University Press in 1926. Perhaps for this reason the present work is restricted to an edition of a hundred copies printed for private circulation in 'Treyford' type, a pleasant-looking and very legible new fount. The book is thus presumably intended for those specially interested in the early days of the Bodleian, who will

take an affectionate pleasure in the details of the manuscript catalogue of 1602 containing a complete list of books in the Bodleian on 8 November of that year, its successor of 1603-4 which contains the first record of Bodleian pressmarks, the printed catalogue of 1605 (an attempt to engraft an alphabetical catalogue on a shelf-list, for which it is claimed that despite its inevitable failure it was at least 'immeasurably superior to similar works of that and even to many of those of more recent date'), the manuscript list of accessions (1605-12), the manuscript catalogue of 1612-13, and finally the printed catalogue of 1620, a volume of 675 pages, which as the first complete catalogue of a public library to obtain publication, and the work of one for whom it can be claimed that he was 'the most expert cataloguer of his day', forms a notable landmark in library history. In the claim put forward for James as a cataloguer and indeed in every chapter of his book Mr. Wheeler shows himself anxious to obtain due recognition of the merits of Bodley's first librarian and rescue him from being unfairly overshadowed by the founder's 'commanding personality'. Under constant pressure from Bodley and with constant protests James achieved a really great work, and Mr. Wheeler has done well to devote this separate treatise to its elucidation in which it can be studied apart from the pressure and protests which in the correspondence of his employer give an unfair impression of inefficiency. Like many philanthropists, Bodley, though he had a real affection for James, was a hard master, so eager to keep his money for buying books and paying for fittings that he both underpaid and overworked his librarian. It was hard on James, but it won for him the honour of being the first scholar known to us who, when placed in charge of a library filled with books he wanted to read, subordinated his own studies to those of his readers.

A. W. P.

*The Later Court Hands in England from the 15th to the 17th century.* By HILARY JENKINSON. Part I, text (pp. x, 200); Part II, plates. Cambridge University Press, 1927.

IN his latest work Mr. Hilary Jenkinson continues his study of the development of handwriting in English public documents, begun in *English Court Hand Illustrated* under the joint-editorship of himself and Mr. Charles Johnson. Perhaps even more than the earlier volumes does this latest contribution satisfy a long-felt need. The story of palaeographical development, with primary insistence on text-hands, has, until recently, been much neglected for the period from the fifteenth century onwards, when the necessity for the more careful and elaborate copying of standard texts diminished with the advent of printing. And yet, as students of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century documents too well know, the handwriting of the later period presents, in many respects, greater difficulties than that of the Middle Ages. Gradually, however, the gap is being filled. On the literary side we have the facsimiles of autographs of the great dramatists of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries,<sup>1</sup> shortly to be followed by those of other men of letters of the period. Mr. Jenkinson, in his latest work, which is published with forty-four plates of facsimiles, taken from the Common Paper of the Company of Scriveners of London, and from records of various branches of the English central administration, restricts himself mainly to non-literary scripts, with an aim to provide 'the essential minimum of apparatus' for a student of English archives desiring to master the writings used in English business documents of the fifteenth to seventeenth centuries. His work is comprehensive, embracing, in as much detail as the covering of so large a field allows, not only the handwritings of documents, but also their forms and classification, language, materials used, personal marks,

<sup>1</sup> *English Literary Autographs, 1550-1650: Part I, Dramatists*, ed. W. W. Greg, 1925.

signatures, parphs, symbols, ciphers, punctuation, paragraph marks—in short anything directly related to their interpretation or likely to be found upon them. It will be welcomed not only by the student of the administration of the later Middle Ages and subsequent periods, but also by the historians of law, economics, art, and all others whose researches take them to the mass of documents preserved in our national archives.

Mr. Jenkinson has, as a second aim, attempted a classification of the nine or ten varieties of court-hand whose common source is to be found in the business hands of the twelfth century. As he himself has pointed out, in any such classification, it is impossible to find hard-and-fast boundaries, or to fix a point where one type ends and another begins. Development takes place gradually and unconsciously, and individual characteristics of one hand, especially in the early stages, may not be absent from another. Still some nomenclature and division into categories is necessary for practical purposes, and Mr. Jenkinson has wisely employed the designations used by John Baildon in his *Book containing divers Sorts of Hands*—the earliest English printed copy-book. Starting from what he has called the *Bastard* hand of the fourteenth century, which was used both as text and court-hand, he traces the development therefrom of the Splayed hands, the Secretary, Engrossing, Chancery King's Remembrancer, Pipe Office, and Legal hands, and the free hands of the fifteenth century. For each he gives plates of alphabets, taken from the works of the writing-masters, and describes the principal features and peculiarities in the forms of individual letters, emphasizing the importance of currency and penmanship in their development. His first-hand knowledge of, and access to, English archives has marked Mr. Jenkinson out as the ideal elucidator of this branch of palaeography, and, though there still remain gaps, all students will be grateful to have so sure and comprehensive a guide to the intricacies of English court-hand of the fifteenth to seventeenth centuries. B. S.

*Shakespeare in the Eighteenth Century.* By D. NICHOL SMITH. Oxford : at the University Press, 1928. pp. 91. Price 5s. net.

THIS is a charmingly written and attractive little book by a master of the subject. It consists of three lectures delivered at Birkbeck College, which is to be congratulated on having induced the author to give them ; and though in preparing them for print he has 'thought it best to retain their original forms' one member of his audience can testify that they are as delightful to read as they were to listen to.

Beginning with the famous passage in Dryden's essay *Of Dramatick Poesie*, as any one who comes to this subject must, Mr. Nichol Smith proceeds to consider in turn the theatrical representation of Shakespeare at this period, Shakespearian scholarship, and Shakespearian criticism. The material, of course, is inevitably reminiscent of the Introduction to the author's edition of *Eighteenth Century Essays on Shakespeare* (1903) but the approach is different, the treatment is fresh and in some ways fuller, and the writer who in 1903 was able to show to what an extent the work of the nineteenth century had been anticipated in the eighteenth, is twenty-five years later especially successful in proving that those aspects of textual criticism upon which the twentieth century has been especially busy, aspects which in particular concern Shakespearian spelling, handwriting, and punctuation, did not pass entirely unnoticed in the period which he champions. After reminding his reader, for instance, that George Chalmers' *Apology for the Believers in the Shakespeare Papers* (1797) devotes a section to punctuation in Shakespeare, Mr. Nichol Smith continues :

Chalmers then proceeded to deal with the history of English punctuation, quoting Hart's *Orthographie*, 1569, and referring to Bullokar's *Amendment*, 1580, and Stockwood's *English Accidence*, 1590, and arriving at the conclusion that Shakespeare 'pointed his dramas on the principles of Hart, without semicolons'. It may be true, or it may not. But these eighteenth-century men had been there before us.

J. D. W.

*The Edinburgh Bibliographical Society.* [Proceedings.] Vol. XIV. Part I. pp. vi, 88.

THIS instalment of the fourteenth volume of *The Proceedings of the Edinburgh Bibliographical Society* contains abstracts of the work of three sessions, and the full text of four papers deemed specially worthy of preservation. Much the longest of these is by Mr. Ernest A. Savage, formerly librarian of the Croydon Public Library, now of that at Edinburgh. This deals with the early monastic Libraries of Scotland, and incidentally describes the *Registrum Librorum Angliae* and also the *Catalogus Scriptorum Ecclesiae* of John Boston of Bury St. Edmunds in whom Dr. M. R. James has long been interested. The *Registrum Librorum Angliae* is a very efficient anticipation of our Society's *Short-Title Catalogue of English Books, 1475-1640*, giving a list of books with references to extant copies of them in 183 monasteries, each monastery being assigned a number which is placed after the books it possessed. Thus, on the page reproduced in collotype, in the heading *Opera Seneca* the entry *Declamaciones* is followed by the numbers 94, 82, and 9, while as many as twelve references are given for copies of the same author's *Epistles*. Of the 183 monasteries to whose libraries references are given seven are Scottish: Jedburgh (possessing copies of 74 works), Kelso (93), Melrose (96), Newbattle (33), St. Andrews (87), Holyrood (28), and Dunfermline (43). The monasteries are grouped according to the Franciscan 'custodies', or districts, organized about 1230, and as the Register contains the work of no author who lived after 1280, and from 1296 onwards relations between England and Scotland were constantly hostile, Mr. Savage very reasonably regards the Register as a product of the Franciscan zeal for promoting Biblical study in the second half of the thirteenth century. Another interesting article, by Mr. Arthur Kay, describes an important quarto volume in an Italian binding dated 1526 containing two incunables (Acts of the Council of

Constance, and Decrees of that of Basel) and eight tracts of the next twenty-five years, including some sentences against heretics of 1524, and an edition of the letter of Erasmus to Servatius 'qua se excusat cur mutarit monasticam vitam, item habitum', which can now be dated 'not after 1526' (perhaps, from its place in the volume, 'before 1524'), as against 1535, the earliest date hitherto assignable to any extant edition. Other papers are on the Kirkcudbright Petition, 1637, and 'A Bibliography of the Resolutioner Protester Controversy, 1650-9', both by Mr. J. D. Ogilvie. Like many of its predecessors this instalment of the Edinburgh Society's Proceedings is so interesting as to arouse regret that the Society does not work on a larger scale.

A. W. P.

*Samuel Butler. Satires and Miscellaneous Poetry and Prose.* Edited by RENÉ LAMAR, M.A. Cambridge, at the University Press, 1928. pp. xxi, 502.

In completing the publication of Butler's writings begun by A. R. Waller in his editions of *Hudibras* (1905) and *Characters and Passages from Note-Books* (1908), Mr. Lamar has greatly clarified his task by presenting under the form of a prefatory bibliography the mass of materials which he had to examine. The Butler MSS. which the British Museum acquired in 1885 were from a Commonplace Book which had at one time included an unfinished tragedy of *Nero*. In 1759 Robert Thyer, Keeper of the Public Library, Manchester, used the Commonplace Book in publishing *The Genuine Remains in Verse and Prose of Mr. Samuel Butler author of Hudibras*, but did not use the whole of it. Mr. Waller also used parts of it in his 1908 volume. Mr. Lamar was confronted with two problems: (1) how to use the unprinted portions of the Commonplace Book, and (2) what course to take with the contents of the three volumes of *Posthumous Works in prose and verse* published in 1715 and 1717 and some nineteen mis-

cellaneous pieces separately published which had either been printed as Butler's or conjecturally assigned to him. He has solved the first problem by printing 'the sketches and thoughts in verse conveying sense by themselves' as a section of his text, and relegating the tentative lines and fragments left in the rough, together with the variants of and allusions to *Hudibras*, in an appendix, where they fill over sixty pages of small print. As regards the establishing of a Butler canon, he has rejected the vast mass of the *Posthumous Works*, of several of which the true authors are known, while printing *Cydippe her Answer to Acontius* and *Mola Asinaria* on the authority of Dryden and Anthony Wood, and *Mercurius Menippus* (memoirs of the years 1649 and 1650) on very strong internal evidence. In his text he has followed Thyer's *Genuine Remains*, and original editions, and very largely the Butler manuscripts in the British Museum. All this seems very sound, and while Mr. Lamar admits that he may have excluded some genuine pieces he has certainly not injured Butler's reputation by doing so.

A. W. P.

*Selected Essays (First, Second Series).* By SIR EDMUND GOSSE. London: W. Heinemann, Ltd. (The Travellers' Library.) 2 vols. 3s. 6d. each.

THESE two little volumes of the brief essays which Sir Edmund Gosse wrote, not only with the lightness and charm of a skilled craftsman, but with personal touches all his own, hardly come within the range of books which this review has space to notice, but Sir Edmund was a collector and an encourager of bibliography and it is pleasant to salute his memory. Moreover, there are here more details than are generally known as to the publication of Horne's *Orion* at the price of a farthing (which had to be tendered in the coin itself), also as to the housing of the staff of the British Museum in the story of Sir Edmund's first sight of Tennyson, with other stray relevancies to our special subjects. Also the two small volumes are models of simple book-building. If an artist with a French

touch for little pictures could be set to decorate them with tailpieces, dreams of the small book unpretentiously beautiful would be on the way to be realized.

A. W. P.

BARWICK, G. F. (editor). *The A.S.L.I.B. Directory: a guide to sources of specialized information in Great Britain and Ireland.* pp. xiii, 425. Published, with the financial assistance of the Carnegie United Kingdom Trustees, jointly by the Association of Special Libraries and Information Bureaux and the Oxford University Press, 1928. £1 1s.

*The A.S.L.I.B. Directory* fills a big gap in our list of reference books. We have bibliographies on most subjects—many admittedly inadequate and out of date, but even then better than nothing—but apart from Rye's book on the libraries of London and Newcombe's book on the university libraries, we have hitherto had no guide to the special collections in the libraries of Great Britain and Ireland. Few research workers are fortunate enough to know all the sources of information on their subject, and such a guide as the one before us is invaluable, even to those of us who think we know—but probably don't—all the special collections on the subject on which we are working. A reference to the *Directory* is almost sure to reveal some hitherto unknown material.

The object of the *A.S.L.I.B. Directory* is to direct the student to those libraries which contain special collections of books, manuscripts, or other material. This information is often supplemented by references to information bureaux, trade associations, industrial firms, or individuals who are prepared to give non-confidential information or advice, sometimes in return for a fee. Many entries have also a reference, under the heading 'Press', to the principal journals dealing with the subject concerned. The arrangement of subjects is alphabetical, so that, with the aid of suitable cross-references, one can easily and quickly find any required subject. Mr. Barwick is to be thanked for not adopting a classification that

necessitates reference to an index before the layman can find anything he wants. Under each subject heading one or more entries appear, each giving brief information about some collection of books or other material. A large percentage of the entries deal with subjects of technical or scientific interest, but there is a good balance of matter that should be useful to the research worker on the humanistic side.

It would be both easy and ungrateful to criticize some of the entries. Here a collection is included that is hardly worthy of reference : there a collection of the first importance is ignored. But the first edition—or, indeed, any edition—of such a work as this must necessarily be imperfect. As Sir Frederic Kenyon points out in his introduction, ‘ It is . . . not complete, since ‘ a first issue of such a work can never be complete, but as ‘ complete as the industry of the compilers and the goodwill of ‘ those responsible for the several libraries have enabled it to be ‘ made. No doubt the very appearance of such an inventory ‘ will provoke accessions to it which will be utilized in future ‘ editions. Where collections have been overlooked, it is to be ‘ hoped that they will be offered for inclusion.’

One hundred and four pages are devoted to ‘ Locations ’, under which the libraries whose collections are included in the body of the book are arranged in geographical order. The address of the library, hours of opening, and details about access to the books are given here. It is to be hoped that in future editions this section may also contain a brief reference to the special collections in the libraries, as there is now no connexion between the location entry and the appropriate subject entries. There is, however, a useful index under the names of special collections.

All who need original material have reason to be profoundly grateful to Mr. Barwick for the production of a guide that will lead to a fuller use being made of many little-known, but valuable, collections.

L. N.

*De Novo Mundo.* Antwerp, Jan van Doesborch [about 1520]; a facsimile of an unique broadsheet containing an early account of the inhabitants of South America together with a short version of Heinrich Sprenger's Voyage to the Indies. Edited with transcription and translation of the Latin text and introduction. By M. E. KRONENBERG. The Hague, Martinus Nijhoff, 1927. pp. viii. 36. 200 numbered copies. 12s. 6d.

MISS KRONENBERG has here published in facsimile a broadsheet (398 × 276 mm.) with colophon 'Actum antwerpie p me Johannē de doesborch', headed 'De nouo mundo' and with six woodcuts (about 60 × 60 mm.) to the left of the text and a larger one (about 120 × 100 mm.) in the right-hand corner. In a scholarly introduction she shows that the heading 'De nouo mundo' relates only to the first paragraph and first side-cut, giving a description of people living in South America (called here Armenica), to which the name of Albericus Vespuccius is attached. This paragraph is a variant in Latin of the first section of Doesborch's collection of tracts (c. 1520) to which he gave the title *Of the neue landes*, and of a German broadside of which copies are in the Staatsbibliothek at Munich and the New York Public Library. The rest of the broadside is 'an account of the voyage to the Indies made by order of the King of Portugal, under command of Francisco d'Almeida, during the years 1505–6', and is derived from the narrative of Baltazar Sprenger, who went with the expedition apparently in the interest of several great trading firms, a text of which, accompanying woodcuts by Hans Burgkmair, was published at Augsburg in 1508 and reprinted at Nuremberg in 1509 and 1511. Doesborch's broadside has, of course, no independent value and was presumably written for him by some hack in his employment, or he may even, Miss Kronenberg thinks, have written it himself. The unique copy here reproduced is in the University Library at Rostock, and has printed on the back a Dutch woodcut of a man, seated on a small board to which a rope is attached, being drawn up by a woman to her window,

with letterpress on the theme 'Non concupisces vxorem proximi tui'. Whether this addition on the verso was made to all copies of the broadside, or is merely a proof of one of a series of cuts illustrating the Commandments pulled at hazard, cannot be settled so long as only one copy is known.

*The Sources of English Literature: a guide for students. Sandars Lectures, 1926. By ARUNDELL ESDAILE, M.A., of the British Museum. Cambridge, at the University Press. 1928. pp. vii, 131.*

AFTER introductory chapters on the need of bibliography, and a discussion whether a world bibliography of books and printed pieces, estimated at thirty millions, would be worth while, Mr. Esdaile expressed a devout wish that a summary bibliography of all manuscripts in British libraries could be taken up as a not impossibly large, and much needed piece of work, and then settles down to talk in a way very helpful to young students, and even some older ones, about general bibliographies, general catalogues of the large libraries of deposit and research, guides for book-collectors, book-trade bibliographies of current literature, period bibliographies, local bibliographies, class bibliographies, religious bibliographies, bibliographies of single authors, dictionaries of anonyma and pseudonyms, catalogues of private libraries, indexes of book-sales and lists of bibliographies. The ground has been covered in earlier handbooks, but Mr. Esdaile's work at the British Museum, both in the library and in the Reading Room has given him first-hand knowledge both of the wants of readers and of the books by which they may be met; also he writes very pleasantly—two points which distinguish this little handbook from most of its predecessors.

*Second General Index to Book-Auction Records for the years 1912-1923.* Volumes X-XX. Compiled under the direction of the publishers and edited by KATHLEEN L. STEVENS. London: H. Stevens Son & Stiles. pp. x, 1467.

To index 170,000 entries of books sold by auction is no light task, but with Mr. Jaggard's example for the first nine volumes of *Book-Auction Records* as a guide Mrs. Stevens has not only accomplished it very neatly and clearly, but has bettered her instruction by quoting Hain and Proctor numbers for undated incunables and by other small improvements, and though the 'extensive cross-referencing of works published by the notable Presses' does not seem to us 'of great bibliographical value' (the merit claimed for it), it is very useful. As a list is given of the publications of the Roxburghe Club, one might have been added for our own Illustrated Monographs, but this is a very small matter. Mainly, of course, the Index will be used to discover what prices have been paid for copies of individual books, but it has a permanent value quite apart from this. Despite the break during the war the two indexes by Captain Jaggard and Mrs. Stevens record between them an enormous dispersal of books of exceptional rarity and interest, and they substantiate the existence of works and editions of which there is at present no other permanent record.

*The British Museum Quarterly.* Vol. II, No. 4; Vol. III, No. 1. London, published by the Trustees. 2s. 3d. post free each part. 8s. post free for four parts, forming a volume.

THE *Museum Quarterly* continues to be richly illustrated with collotypes of the treasures acquired by its antiquarian departments, the earlier of these numbers being notable for the plate of a fine marble relief of Aeneas at the site of Rome, and the latter for a very beautiful Greek bronze head of a woman. The contents more especially interesting to readers of *The Library* are the letter of Dickens congratulating George Eliot on her *Scenes of Clerical Life* and very courteously guess-

ing her sex (presented by Miss Elsie Druce), and notes on Vol. I of the Ashendene *Don Quixote* on vellum (presented by Mr. Hornby), on the Centenary edition of the Poems of Ugo Foscolo with a special dedication *Alla Inghilterra* signed by Signor Mussolini, on the exhibition of Recent Foreign Printing; on the only known copy of an early reissue (c. 1610) of Norden's map of Surrey (purchased), and the letter which Warren Hastings wrote to his wife on the eve of his duel with Philip Francis (bequeathed by Miss Marian Winter, a great-niece of Mrs. Hastings). With the completion of Vol. II cases have been made for binding together the first two volumes.

*Victoria and Albert Museum: A Picture-Book of Bookbindings.* 1927. 2 Parts.  
20 plates each. 6d. each part.

*Victoria and Albert Museum. A Picture-Book of 15th Century Italian Book Illustrations.* 1927. 20 plates. 6d.

THESE charming little picture-books, which have been preceded by more than a score illustrating objects in other departments of the Victoria and Albert Museum than the library, should have been noticed earlier, as they deserve a warm welcome. The forty plates of bindings include examples covering the whole field, many of them of great beauty, and they should be bought even by those who possess a good bibliographical library to stand beside larger works as additional illustrations. While every bookbinding is more or less unique the Italian woodcuts are nearly all from well-known books, but they are pretty enough to charm any beginner into pursuing the subjects. It might be worth considering at the British Museum whether some of the magnificent series of photographic illustrations at present printed on cards could not be made alternatively obtainable in booklets of this kind.